

ATHENS, ETRURIA,
AND THE MANY LIVES OF
GREEK FIGURED POTTERY



SHERAMY D. BUNDRICK

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ATHENS, ETRURIA,
and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery

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Sheramy D. Bundrick

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All the thousands of vases that the Etruscans gathered so lovingly and laid by their dead, where are they? Many are still in existence. But they are everywhere except at Vulci.

—D. H. LAWRENCE, *Etruscan Places* (1932)



The public of Athenian vases . . . is generally assumed to be limited to the Athenians, and the usual account is that of vases produced in the workshops of the Kerameikos, put on display for the citizens frequenting the nearby Agora, and sold to some local individual for a special occasion, such as a symposium. What strikes me about this account is that it usually ends in the dining room of an Athenian house.

—CLEMENTE MARCONI, “Images for a Warrior: On a Group of Athenian Vases and Their Public” (2004)

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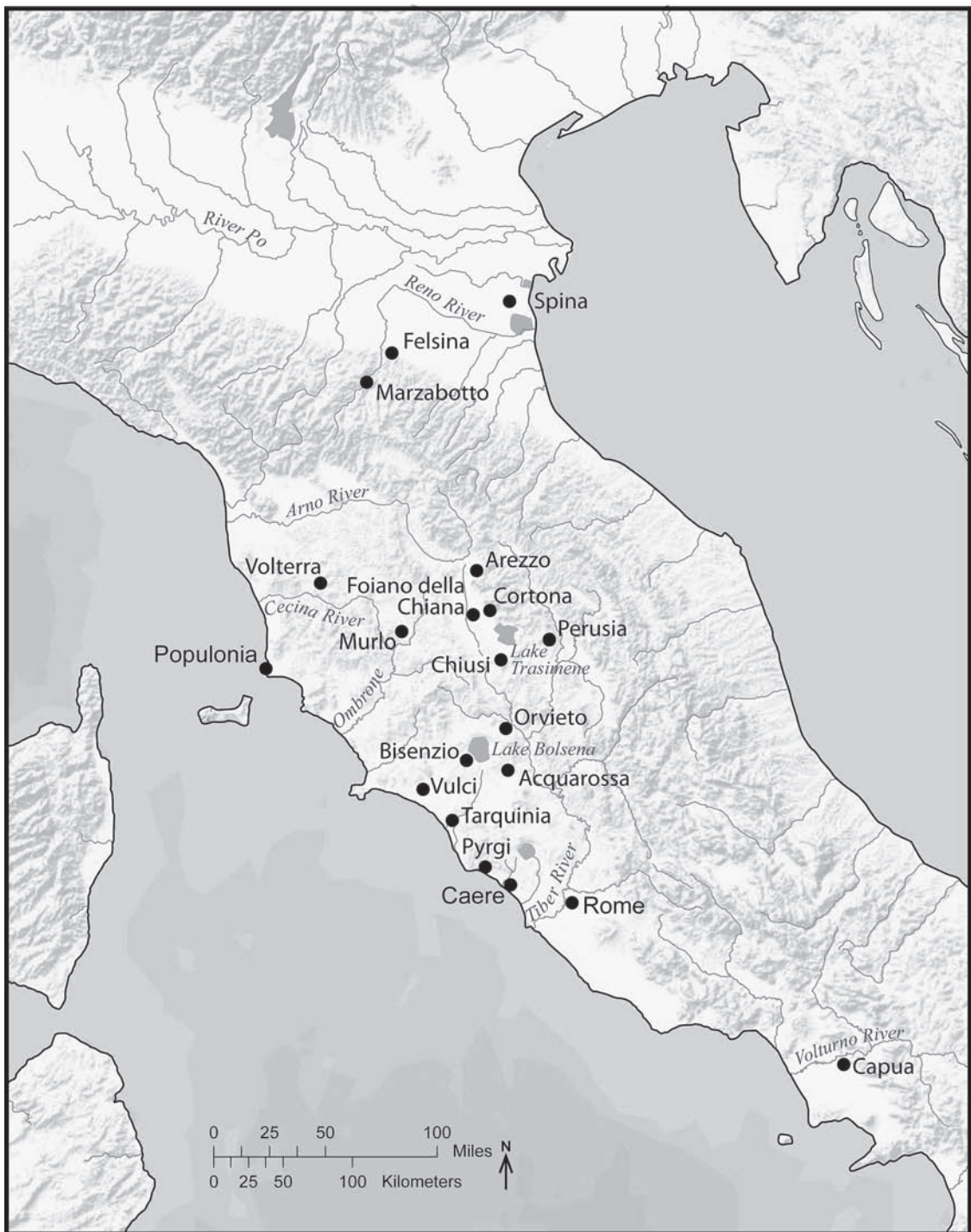
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for journals and reference works follow the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (<https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations>), with some of the more common listed below. Athenian vases are cited by their *BAPD* numbers and their initial appearance in *ABV*, *ARV*², *Paralipomena*, or *Beazley Addenda*² as relevant.

<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters</i> (Oxford 1956)
<i>ARV</i> ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963)
<i>BAPD</i>	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk)
<i>BdI</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i>
<i>Beazley Addenda</i> ²	T. H. Carpenter et al., <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV</i> ² , and <i>Paralipomena</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford 1989)
<i>CB</i>	L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford 1931–63)
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus vasorum antiquorum</i> (Paris 1923–)
<i>EtrStud</i>	<i>Etruscan and Italic Studies: Journal of the Etruscan Foundation</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	J. Boardman et al., <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zurich 1981–2009)
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
<i>Paralipomena</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> (Oxford 1971)
<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi etruschi</i>

ATHENS, ETRURIA,
and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery



Map of Etruscan sites discussed in the text. (Drawing by Valerie Woelfel)

The Many Lives of Athenian Vases

ONE OF THE FIRST ATHENIAN VASES DISCOVERED IN ETRURIA was a red-figure volute krater dating from ca. 510 BCE, allegedly found in a tomb near Arezzo (fig. 1.1).¹ Restored from over forty fragments and nearly sixty centimeters in height, the krater was the longtime prize of the former Bacci collection and now occupies a specially lit, centrally situated display case in the Museo Archeologico Gaio Clinio Mecenate. The tumultuous scene on its body depicts an Amazonomachy: back-to-back with Telamon, the lionskin-clad hero Herakles dominates the fray as Amazons race, charge, and fall around the pair of heroes. A merry gathering of komasts dances and drinks its way around the neck, their revelry a counterpoint to the intensity below. Although it is unsigned by its makers, Greek inscriptions fill the vase. Some label Herakles, Telamon, and other characters in the myth as well as some of the komasts, while others proclaim two men named Xenon and Philiades as *kalos* (“beautiful” or “handsome”).

For over 150 years—from the early sixth century to the late fifth—Etruscan communities were the primary recipients of figured pottery exported from Athens: coastal centers of southern Etruria such as Vulci, Tarquinia, and Caere (Cerveteri); inland sites like Orvieto, Chiusi, and Arezzo; communities in Campania that for a time were under Etruscan control, including Capua and Nola; and sites of northern expansion like Spina and Felsina (Bologna) in the Po Valley. Thousands of vases have emerged from Etruscan tombs, sanctuaries, and settlements, and yet, for much of the history of modern scholarship, their find contexts and the Etruscan consumers who had acquired them have remained in the background. Instead, the focus has been on the potters and painters in Athens, and on frequently hypothetical Athenian users and viewers.

The shifting modern life of the Arezzo krater exemplifies the development of the study of Athenian figured pottery as well as attitudes toward Athenian vases in Etruria.² Despite its inscriptions, the krater and other early-discovered Greek vases were initially thought to be Etruscan. In



Fig. 1.1 Attic volute krater attributed to Euphronios, from Arezzo. Ca. 510. Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Gaio Clinio Mecenate 1465. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

its first publication, Thomas Dempster's *De Etruria Regali* (1723–26), the krater appeared alongside Chiusine cinerary urns and South Italian Greek vases that had been found in Campania but were also believed to be Etruscan in manufacture.³ Dempster's book was written in the seventeenth century to flatter the Medici family and bolster Tuscan claims of Etruscan heritage, but it was not published until the early eighteenth century, when engraved plates and commentary were added by Filippo Buonarroti, great-grandnephew to *il divino* Michelangelo. Buonarroti supported the Etruscan lineage of figured pottery found in Italy for the remainder of his lifetime, as did other antiquarians of the so-called Tuscan school. The engravings of the Arezzo krater in the Dempster volume, incomplete because the vase was in the course of restoration, would be nearly replicated in its next publication, the second volume of Giovanni Battista Passeri's *Picturae Etruscorum in vasculis* (1770).⁴ Here, too, the array of Greek figured pottery, mostly South Italian with the exception of the Arezzo krater, was described as Etruscan.

As larger numbers of Attic vases were uncovered during the eighteenth century—now primarily in south Italy, especially in Campania at sites like Nola and Sant’Agata dei Goti, and in Sicily, at places like Agrigento and Gela—the assumption of Etruscan production was increasingly challenged. Collectors and scholars associated with the lively antiquities trade in Naples, Italians and foreigners alike, advocated production by Greek immigrants working in Italy, based on the growing corpus of vase inscriptions.⁵ Among the supporters of Greek origins were Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who based his case on stylistic elements as well as inscriptions, and Sir William Hamilton, who noted similarities between the vases that he was collecting from south Italy and Sicily and the few vases that were beginning to appear from Greece itself.⁶ Hamilton predicted that continued investigation in Athens would yield proof of Greek workmanship. Forced to confront the paucity of finds from Etruria proper at that point, stubborn proponents of Etruscan production argued that Campania had been under Etruscan control for the period of the vases, a theory that neglected figured pottery in Sicily.

The debate was reignited in the late 1820s with the discovery of massive numbers of mostly Attic vases at Vulci, on land belonging to Luciano Bonaparte, prince of Canino, Antonio Candelori, and others.⁷ Not surprisingly for the period, the full contexts and original assemblages of vases remained unrecorded, although Bonaparte did provide dates of discovery (month and year) and general locations of tombs in catalogues of his collection. A series of auctions and other sales, continuing after Bonaparte’s death in 1840, dispersed Canino vases across Europe, where their quality brought interest in this pottery to a fever pitch. Other groups of Vulcian vases similarly entered museum and private collections. Many of the Candelori vases, for example, which had been excavated by Vincenzo Campanari, entered the Vatican. The famous Ajax and Achilles amphora by Exekias was a gift from the Candelori brothers to Pope Gregory XVI in 1834, presented so that he would renew their excavation permit.⁸

Like Filippo Buonarroti before him, Luciano Bonaparte was an unflinching champion of “Etruscan” vases, venturing Etruscocentric interpretations of their iconography in his own catalogues and newly launched journals like the *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.⁹ Since Bonaparte’s collection was of intense interest to Eduard Gerhard, secretary of the Istituto—to the extent that an early volume of one of its other publications, the *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, celebrated the Vulci vases—Bonaparte seems to have been granted free rein in proclaiming his ideas, however farfetched.¹⁰ Judging from the measured responses of not only Gerhard but other scholars in the *Bullettino* and elsewhere, Bonaparte’s claims were largely discounted, but his ownership of a treasure trove of pottery insured that he was handled carefully.

Alongside new discoveries at Vulci, more figured pottery was appearing on the Greek mainland and in the islands; Hamilton’s premonition that vases found at Athens would change the picture proved to be true. Because of their *ton Athenethen athlon* inscriptions (“From the games at Athens”), much discussion in the *Bullettino* focused on Panathenaic prize amphorae, which surfaced at Nola, Vulci (in the excavations of both Bonaparte and Campanari), and Athens itself, including an early example found by Thomas Burgon in 1813 in a tomb where it served as a cremation urn.¹¹

When the Burgon amphora was published and exhibited, Bonaparte not only argued that the amphorae in his own collection derived from Etruscan games and that their iconography was best interpreted from an Etruscan perspective; he implied that the prize inscription on the Burgon vase was a modern forgery.¹² A lengthy response and assertion of the Athenian identity of all the amphorae was made by P. O. Brøndsted in 1834, including a letter by Burgon recounting the circumstances of his find.¹³ Bonaparte similarly questioned the integrity of Attic vases acquired on Aegina by the artist Emile Wolff, suggesting that a naïve Wolff may have been swindled by speculators who had looted “Etruscan” vases and taken them to Greece.¹⁴

Even as acceptance of Greek production for the vases of Vulci and elsewhere gained traction—in the face of Bonaparte’s objections—the idea that they were made by craftsmen in Athens instead of immigrants in Italy remained a minority opinion. Karl Otfried Müller seems to have been the first to argue for actual export from Athens, noting the discovery of most vases at sites near the Italian coast.¹⁵ He claimed that vases emerging at Vulci were “monumens du génie de l’art attique, de cet esprit d’art qui du temps des Polygnotes et des Phidias, s’était répandu dans toutes les conditions, et sur les objets les plus vulgaires,” a sentiment that foreshadowed the attitudes toward Attic vases to come.¹⁶ Müller also made the astute observation, especially considering how early it was, that the types of vases found in Greek graves and Etruscan tombs seemed to him quite different: lekythoi predominating in Greece with a few exceptions, while Etruscans deposited a range of shapes, which, he argued, they had acquired through trade.¹⁷ For all his initial boldness, Müller partly recanted his assertions, later agreeing that Cumae and other Greek cities in south Italy and Sicily were the true origin of vases. His teacher, P. Böckh—one of those who advocated for immigrant craftsmen—likely influenced this about-face, particularly since Böckh published his own views in the same 1832 volume.¹⁸

Müller’s turnabout notwithstanding, it did not take long for others to accept Athens as the definitive point of origin, leading to the work of classification and a “century of attribution.”¹⁹ Giovanna Ceserani argues that the reassignment of figured pottery from Vulci and Campania to Athenian workshops marked the beginnings of Greek art in Athens overshadowing that of south Italy and Sicily.²⁰ One could suggest the same for Etruscan art, an eclipse that lasted until the gradual birth of Etruscology as a discipline and the discovery of such revelatory objects as the Aplu (Apollo) of Veii in the early twentieth century. Even then, for many (if not most) Hellenists Etruscan art was a vulgar pastiche, and the Etruscans themselves were gaudy *nouveaux riches* who coveted anything Greek that came to them and proceeded to copy from it.²¹ Writing about the distribution of Attic vases, Gisela Richter observed: “It may seem to us curious that the Greeks, who were known for their inborn good taste, should have been satisfied with inferior goods, while they sent their best work to a people who could hardly appreciate with the same fullness the exquisite beauty and finish of the articles they imported in such quantities. But then, as now, business instincts prevailed; potters supplied their best goods to the customer who paid the highest price, and it cannot have been very difficult for wealthy Etruria to command the market; moreover, we know that the Athenians of the sixth and fifth centuries were very simple in their private life, and spent

their substance rather on public works.”²² Etruscan tombs continued to be the primary source of discoveries, but interest in the contexts of Athenian vases and what they might have meant to Etruscan owners beyond their inherent Greekness continued to lag. Instead, scholarship was preoccupied with recognizing potters and painters through *egraphsen* (“X drew/painted it”) and *epoiesen* inscriptions (usually interpreted as “X made/potted it”), and the attribution of unsigned vases to these and other hands, together with a parallel pursuit of iconographic interpretation.

After some debate, the unsigned Arezzo volute krater (fig. 1.1) received the plum attribution to Euphronios by Adolf Furtwängler in his grandiose *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (1909) and with it, the assurance of masterpiece status.²³ Euphronios was already known, thanks to signed vases like a calyx krater formerly in the Campana collection, found at Caere, which features Herakles and Antaios wrestling on one side, and a musical concert or contest on the other.²⁴ Decades later, Euphronios would become one of the few vase painters to receive a one-man show in museums, a sign of modern admiration.²⁵ Vases of his found in Etruria would also be the subject of controversy as time passed. Most notoriously, a calyx krater signed by Euphronios as painter and Euxitheos as potter, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1972 for a million dollars, became the lightning-rod symbol of looting, questionable activities on the art market, and efforts to repatriate ill-gotten artifacts to source countries (fig. 1.2).²⁶ As of this writing, the krater depicting the death of Sarpedon resides in the Museo Nazionale Cerite in Cerveteri, installed to local fanfare in 2015, not far from the Grotte Sant’Angelo necropolis where *tombaroli* unearthed it. After the agreement between the Metropolitan and the Republic of Italy for the krater’s return was forged in 2006, then-director Philippe de Montebello asked, “How much more would you learn from knowing which particular hole in—supposedly Cerveteri—it came out of? . . . Everything is on the vase.”²⁷

Such a complaint exemplifies the antirepatriation position, but it also illustrates the degree to which Etruscan contexts and consumers remained an afterthought in studies of Attic vase painting. Mostly, the Etruscans were not mentioned at all as scholars mined vases for information about Athens: not only its artists but its myths, customs, and societal attitudes.²⁸ A controversial exception is the 1972 book *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, in which T. B. L. Webster sought to reconcile his beliefs that *kalos* inscriptions like those on the Arezzo krater referenced real people, and that Athenian aristocrats were the “pace-makers” of the ceramic industry, with the reality that most vases from what he called the “wonderful hundred years from 550 to 450” were found in Etruria.²⁹ Webster imagined sets of vases being produced as “special commissions for special symposia” to the specifications of elite Athenian patrons; then, once the glittering occasion had passed, the vessels would be sold secondhand to the Etruscans. Panathenaic prize amphorae must have arrived in Etruria and elsewhere via some form of secondhand trade—and maybe some other pots did, too—but Webster’s hypothesis extends such practices to all manner of vases on a regular basis, casting the Etruscans as contented recipients of Greek rejects.³⁰ Etruscan agency is denied in this scenario, and, technically, so is that of the potters and painters, who in Webster’s estimation worked only to please the Athenian rich.



Fig. 1.2 Attic calyx krater signed by Euphronios as painter and Euxitheos as potter, from Caere. Ca. 515. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Etrusco. (Photo: Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali/Art Resource, NY)

Almost by default, the Etruscans entered discussions of Athenian figured pottery in the 1980s and early 1990s as part of the debate over its value in ancient times. David Gill and Michael Vickers challenged what they called *ceramocentric* ways of thinking, by which they meant longstanding attitudes about the superiority of Attic pottery; the modern treatment of vases like those of Euphronios as (expensive) masterpieces; and assumptions that even in antiquity, vases were luxury items whose export played a prominent role in the Athenian economy. Vickers argued that eighteenth-century taste and the twentieth-century art market inflated modern perceptions of ancient pottery, while Gill raised many hackles by characterizing Athenian vases on trading ships as “spacefillers” and “little more than profitable ballast.”³¹ Both trumpeted what they saw as the prominence of now-lost gold and silver plate in Athenian (and Etruscan) society and argued that not only were Athenian figured ceramics *skeuomorphic* imitations of precious metals but that “pottery played a

very minor role in the Greek economy.”³² Their ideas found many critics, most notably John Boardman, who advocated not only for a strong role for Athenian figured vases in trade but for their status as luxury goods.³³ The truth about the economic value of vases surely lies between these two positions; for this reason, some scholars prefer the term “semi-luxury” to describe figured pottery and similar types of goods.³⁴ Even when Gill’s and Vickers’ ideas can be challenged, however, their insistence on questioning the place of pottery in trade has inspired further work on the topic.³⁵

Major changes have come in recent decades, especially since the turn of the millennium, when not only the Etruscans but other non-Greek consumers of Attic figured pottery have received scholarly attention in new ways.³⁶ Many aspects of the cultural *Zeitgeist* have influenced these developments. For some time, the viewer of an object has been granted greater agency in discussions of imagery, not just in classical art history but elsewhere, an extension of reader-response theory. Applying those principles to the actual (as opposed to hypothetical) viewers of Attic pottery leads beyond Athens to other places where vases actually traveled.³⁷ Increased awareness of the importance of archaeological context, fueled by controversies over objects like Euphronios’ Sarpedon krater, has also influenced the conversation. Finally, postcolonial attitudes in scholarship, including what Ian Morris has called “Mediterraneanization,” have affected classical archaeology in a powerful way.³⁸ Tropes of hellenization and center–periphery influence have been questioned in many areas of ancient studies, with the Mediterranean now often described as a decentralized series of networks.³⁹ Heightened emphasis on cross-cultural contact inevitably incorporates Attic figured vases as pervasive and highly mobile specimens of Greek material culture. “Why did Athenian pots appeal to the Etruscans?” Robin Osborne asked in 2001, a question that has been tackled by many voices to many different ends and that likewise occupies this volume.⁴⁰ Other recent studies have considered Athenian vases in the Iberian peninsula, Thrace, northern Europe, and the Near East, as well as parts of Italy outside Etruria (such as Puglia), and parts of Greece outside Athens (such as Boeotia).⁴¹

The most broad-reaching and influential study of Attic vases in Etruria thus far is Christoph Reusser’s monograph *Vasen für Etrurien: Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (2002).⁴² Derived from his 1995 Bern University thesis, Reusser’s book compiles data from cemeteries, sanctuaries, and domestic sites to present a *neues Denkmodell* of how to approach Athenian figured ware in Etruscan contexts. One of his many notable conclusions points precisely to the appearance of Attic pottery in a variety of settings, debunking the notion that Etruscans purchased it only for the tomb and/or as a substitute for more valuable metalware.⁴³ Reusser further challenges the orthodoxy that only the elite acquired Athenian pottery and only in urban areas. He demonstrates that these vessels could be found in all manner of communities, large and small, coastal and inland, and in association with a range of social classes. Reusser argues that Etruscans regarded Attic vases neither as works of art in the modern sense nor necessarily as luxury objects, given their accessibility to a wide range of buyers. His work provides

a critical corrective both to those scholars who overestimate the value of Athenian pottery in Etruria (e.g., Boardman) and those who underestimate it (e.g., Gill and Vickers).

And yet it does not go far enough. Reusser's book privileges the Etruscan consumer to the virtual exclusion of Athenian potters, painters, and workshops; in most instances, he does not provide attributions when specific vases are mentioned, save as footnote citations to Beazley's catalogues.⁴⁴ This purposeful inattention ties in to his argument that Etruscan buyers did not grant the same consideration to technical quality or specific artists as most modern scholars, collectors, and admirers of Athenian pottery.⁴⁵ Nor is Reusser alone in deemphasizing attribution, for others in recent years have questioned the utility, subjectivity, and even credibility of Beazley's work and wider methodologies of connoisseurship.⁴⁶ To Gill and Vickers in their various publications, for instance, connoisseurship breeds artificial artistic personalities and feeds larger narratives of "ceramocentrism."

While it is true that vase painters like Euphronios have morphed into celebrities through modern circumstances (including the vicissitudes of the art market), and that it is presumptuous to imagine that they enjoyed similar fame in antiquity, this does not mean that he and other Athenian craftsmen should be tossed out with the bathwater. Defenders of connoisseurship have asserted its necessity not only for its own sake but for its contributions to discussions of chronology, iconology, and trade.⁴⁷ Attribution has its flaws and foibles, and Beazley's conclusions have been challenged on many occasions: not only the assignment of individual vases to a particular painter or workshop, but broader assumptions about the organization of the ceramic industry.⁴⁸ Such critiques, however, are not a reason to abandon formal analysis and attribution, but an opportunity to refine these methods and continue raising questions.

In this book I aim to redress the balance and tell a fuller story of Attic vases in Etruria by embracing the principles of object biography introduced by the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff in a seminal 1986 article: "In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people. . . . Where does the thing come from and who made it? . . . What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?"⁴⁹ Object biography as both method and metaphor has become standard fare in material culture studies, especially with regard to ethnographic and prehistoric objects, and has been adopted more tentatively in classical archaeology.⁵⁰ All the lives of an object (or larger class of objects) are considered in this sort of analysis, from raw materials and production through processes of consumption, to deposition or discard. Emphasis is placed upon the object as commodity; any performative and ritual aspects; and transformations of identity as the object changed hands and location over time. Its later reception into the modern era, such as its collecting history or museum display, can also form part of its biography.⁵¹ The physical totality of the object is important, meaning not only shape, style, and iconography, but ancient breakage and repairs, evidence of wear when it can be ascertained, and the presence of inscriptions or graffiti.⁵² These features can help reconstruct an object's function(s), meaning(s), and movement(s). Some scholars have refined

the biographical model precisely to highlight movement and circulation; the term “object itineraries” is preferred in some recent work.⁵³

Approaching Athenian figured pottery in Etruria from this perspective—initiating the discussion in the Kerameikos potters’ quarter instead of at the endpoint of its journey—reveals the entangled, even symbiotic relationships between producers and consumers that literally shaped the export trade. Attribution becomes part of a broader framework of physical evidence for workshop activities that also includes distribution data, the remains of workshop deposits in Athens, inscriptions on the vases themselves that relate to commercial transactions, and even the remains of shipwrecks. As discussed in chapter 2, these categories combine to show a distinct level of awareness of what customers wanted, whether those customers were at home or abroad, and the employment of various strategies to meet demand, such as targeted production of certain shapes and imagery. For all their virtuosity (and some craftsmen exhibited more than others), Euphronios and the rest were less fine artists in the modern sense and more businessmen who wished to sell their wares and earn a profit (*kerdos*). Nor did they work in isolation. The traders (*emporoi*) who purchased and transported vases to Etruria were a critical piece of the puzzle, for not only did they facilitate the movement of figured pottery, but they also ferried back information about consumer desires. While *emporoi* remain shadowy figures in most ways, mercantile trademarks under the feet of many surviving vases provide an often overlooked yet revealing resource for considering their relationships with Athenian workshops, one I use frequently here.⁵⁴

A characterization of Athenian workshops as attuned to the Etruscan market and engaged with it in savvy ways contrasts with the traditional model, which might admit to the high volume of exported vases but otherwise downplays (or outright denies) the impact of the export market on Athenian production, especially when it comes to iconography and/or technical innovation.⁵⁵ As an extreme example, Jan Bazant proclaims in a 1982 article, “It is . . . unlikely from the psychological point of view that Athenian artists, residents in the very powerful and certainly the most ambitious Greek state at that time, would respond to the predilections of foreign customers . . . unlikely that these proud Athenians would demean themselves to conform to the tastes of foreigners.”⁵⁶ Scholars working on the Athenian symposion and committed to the idea that figured pottery primarily belonged to that milieu seem particularly apt to minimize Etruscan input or agency even today: not surprisingly, given the high stakes in the usage of vases and their imagery as evidence for the symposion itself.⁵⁷ Making her own case for the significance of the Etruscan export market, Sian Lewis observes that the issue of provenience “has not received the attention it deserves, because scholars *want* pots to be about Athens.”⁵⁸ My own position does not extend quite as far as Lewis’ suggestion that the large-scale production of vases for Etruscan export can render them unreliable as evidence for Athenian society or customs. I come closer to the belief that painters, in the majority of cases, drew upon their own experiences, knowledge, and interests in the crafting of imagery, and that iconography can be used, with the requisite caveats, for insight into the Athenian worldview.⁵⁹ I do, however, agree with Lewis and scholars such as Juliette de la Genière, Kathleen Lynch, and Elizabeth Langridge-Noti (to name a few) that Etruscan and other foreign

markets exercised greater influence than is sometimes apparent, and that this extends to imagery as well as shape or technique.⁶⁰ To argue, as many have stated, and still do, that the Athenian elite and the Athenian symposion provided the primary intended viewers and context for figured pottery flies in the face of evidence like distribution data and commercial trademarks. These speak to many vases being made principally for export, whether to Etruria, as explored in this volume, or other areas.

The question then becomes in what ways did the Etruscan market affect Athenian workshops. As the next chapters show, potters and painters had a range of responses, varying from making more of a scene type that had proven popular to altering shapes and/or imagery to fit what was believed to be Etruscan taste. Information from traders was crucial, and workshops were invested in attracting and keeping those traders' business in one way or another. This model does not diminish Athenian initiative and innovation, but it does recognize that the impetus for many creative decisions in the Kerameikos may have arisen not only beyond the *polis* but across the sea. The term "Athenian" itself references location more than lineage. Especially from the early sixth century onward, the ceramic industry seems to have been a diverse amalgam of native-born citizens, resident Greek immigrants (*metoikoi*, "metics") or their descendants, resident foreigners, and slaves.⁶¹ There may have been at least one Etruscan working in the potters' quarter: a fragmentary Attic red-figure cup tondo attributed to the Penthesilean workshop (mid-fifth century BCE), found in an Etruscan tomb in Populonia, features a pre-firing painted Etruscan inscription reading *Metru menece*, likely "Metru made it."⁶² Some have suggested Metru, whose name appears to be an Etruscan form of the Greek "Metron," was an Etruscan metic working in Athens. Alternatively, Metron may have been a Greek who knew enough of the Etruscan language to sign the cup this way for its foreign buyer's benefit. Either way, the addition of the inscription before firing shows an awareness in the workshop of where the cup was going to travel, an important implication for this study in itself.

As Attic vases arrived in Etruria and shifted their identities from exports to imports, the physical and cultural change in environment instigated a series of transformations that could sometimes take these objects very far from the functions and meanings familiar to their Athenian makers. Here it is essential to consider the multivalence of the terms "consumer" and "consumption."⁶³ "Consumer" can describe someone acquiring an object/commodity in an economic sense (e.g., through purchase), which in turn inspires consideration of the economic value of imported goods. "Consumption" as employed by Michael Dietler and other recent scholars, meanwhile, can also refer to the ways in which an object is used and, in a cross-cultural context, how that object is appropriated, integrated, even manipulated into its new setting in accordance with local customs and worldview.⁶⁴ This approach to consumption foregrounds the agency of those acquiring imported goods, not only in terms of their treatment of individual objects but the impact of their choices (and rejections) on production elsewhere.⁶⁵ It contrasts with the characterization of Etruscans and other non-Greeks in much past scholarship as passive and nondiscriminating recipients of goods from an allegedly superior culture. Instead of vases and other imports contributing to a form of hellenization, from this point of view the objects themselves are better described as etruscanized.

To attempt to capture an Etruscan point of view in the absence of written sources, in this book I consider a series of tomb assemblages in which Athenian vases play a significant role. A case study approach is a hallmark of object biography, even though by necessity it means working backward from an object's discovered resting place.⁶⁶ My own use of assemblages comes with a recognition of the extreme rarity of fully provenienced and documented Attic vases, which methodologically invites caution. It is also the case that although the Etruscans tend to be grouped as a single entity in modern parlance—and “Etruscans” and “Etruria” are similarly used here for convenience—these communities could vary a great deal in terms of customs, rituals, and other practices. Contact with Greeks (a term also employed here for convenience, despite the diversity among Greeks from different areas) and other foreigners likewise varied. At coastal sites like Vulci, Caere, or Tarquinia, contact with traders, merchants, and likely even resident immigrants was more consistent. At inland communities like Arezzo or Foiano della Chiana in Tuscany, meanwhile, locals presumably met fewer Greeks. Not all Etruscan communities, or households within a given community, adopted imported objects to the same degree and with the same motivation(s), and some may not have adopted any. The inherent diversity within Etruscan areas requires as much local context as possible—archaeological, sociocultural, and artistic—when considering evidence.

Those things being said, examining even a small number of assemblages reveals the intentionality behind the acquisition and deposition of Attic vases and, just as importantly, how they were integrated with objects of Etruscan production, whether locally made or introduced from a neighboring community.⁶⁷ I favor tombs over sanctuaries and domestic contexts for this volume, not because the latter are less worthy of study but for practical reasons: because there are more published tombs to analyze; because vases found in graves tend to be better preserved than those found in other contexts, allowing more in-depth discussion of iconography; and because the relative abundance of surviving Etruscan funerary art permits more cogent observations about the customs and beliefs that influenced the selection of grave goods. Recent scholarship on mortuary theory stresses the conception of the tomb as a liminal space and the active role of all deposited objects within that space; objects of different media and origins worked together in service of the dead and, to a certain extent, the living as well. While many of the tombs discussed in this book contain inhumation burials, singly or in pairs, chapter 6 focuses on Attic figured pottery used as cineraria for cremation burials. Throughout I argue that not only were Athenian imported vases treated no differently than objects of Etruscan origin; they were chosen because they harmonized with Etruscan eschatological belief. I question whether the Greekness of imported pottery was as much a priority for Etruscan consumers as has often been assumed, especially at times and in places where the high volume of imports promoted availability to much of the population.

The interplay between shape, image, and context forms a particular theme of this study. Some scholars have suggested that image played little part in the Etruscan acquisition of Attic vases, or at least that image was secondary to shape as a consideration.⁶⁸ Tomb assemblages presented here as case studies, however, consistently show that iconography could play as significant a role as shape, or even a stronger one.⁶⁹ The imagery of individual vases could speak to the status or social persona

of the deceased as commemorated (or constructed) by the living, or to other eschatological concerns. In assemblages with multiple figural objects, scenes on Attic vases often complemented one another as well as those on Etruscan objects. At least some vessels were used or displayed in homes before their deposition in tombs—as suggested, for example, by ancient repairs or a chronological gap among grave goods—but even when this was the case, the selection of figured pottery was not random or based merely on what happened to be at hand. Scenes on an Athenian vase might gain another dimension of meaning when transposed from a domestic to a tomb setting, and examples of this appear in the case study assemblages as well.

The types of scenes found in the assemblages and other individual vases under consideration represent a cross-section of the types of scenes found on imported vases generally. In *Vasen für Etrurien*, Reusser identifies a group of *Bildthemen* that persisted in popularity from the early days of Attic imports and discusses their relevance to Etruscan audiences: symposion/komos scenes, scenes involving war (including combats and departures), athletic scenes, and images related to Herakles and Dionysos, including the Dionysian *thiasos*.⁷⁰ It is true that these represent the majority of scenes, resonating across different communities as well as different time periods and, it seems, genders, ages, and social classes. To these we can add other types of images that recur in the distribution data (and in this study), such as scenes of erotic pursuit, other heroes besides Herakles, and other deities besides Dionysos. The frequency of certain subjects suggests that Athenian workshops were aware of the demand abroad, probably via traders. Potters and painters then had the security of knowing that vases with these scenes would sell and, simultaneously, the leeway to innovate within those paradigms. Vase painters would have been less aware of the particular ways in which Etruscan viewers might interpret the images. Often the result is what Cornelia Isler-Kerényi describes as a double perspective: divergent readings that are no less correct than what an Athenian viewer might see.⁷¹ Many scholars in recent years have attempted to read Greek imagery through an Etruscan lens, and as I have in earlier work, I follow their example here, using comparanda within Etruscan art and what is known of Etruscan belief systems to contextualize the iconography.⁷² With a few scene types—namely, the imagery of disembodied eyes (chapter 4), scenes of Herakles and Triton (chapter 5), and scenes of fountainhouses (also in chapter 5)—I take my analysis a step further to challenge the exclusivity of the Athenocentric interpretations that have dominated scholarship.

While documented assemblages provide the best stepping stone for exploring the export and import of Attic vases, objects whose original contexts are unknown or not fully understood still have much to tell. I close this chapter with two monumental red-figure vessels, both from the area around Caere and both from sanctuaries: a kylix (diam. 46.5 cm) thought on good evidence—namely, its votive inscription(s)—to have been looted from a sanctuary to Hercle (Etruscan Herakles) in the Sant'Antonio area of the city (figs. 1.3–4) and a fragmentary phiale mesomphalos (reconstructed diam. 41.7 cm) excavated at the Southern Sanctuary of Pyrgi, Caere's port (fig. 1.5).⁷³ Acquired by the Getty Museum in many fragments over several years, the kylix was repatriated to Italy in 1999 and is now displayed in the Museo Nazionale Cerite alongside the Sarpedon

krater (fig. 1.2).⁷⁴ It is signed by Euphronios as potter (*Euphronios epoiesen*), attributed to Onesimos as painter, and thought to date in the 490s. The phiale's attribution has been the source of some discussion, but it is most likely also the work of Onesimos and Euphronios.⁷⁵ The large size of both vessels means that they could not have been used effectively for libations or drinking and were probably intended for display even at production. Unfortunately, we cannot know the original, early fifth-century setting even of the Pyrgi phiale. Its many fragments, along with other damaged Attic vases, were scattered in construction fill in the sanctuary's northern square, thought to be part of reconstruction works following the sacking of Pyrgi by Dionysius of Syracuse in 384. Signs of burning suggest that the phiale may have been broken during the sack, and the sanctity of votive offerings meant that it and other vases could not be discarded outside the sanctuary.



Fig. 1.3 Attic kylix signed by Euphronios as potter and attributed to Onesimos as painter, from Caere, view of interior. 490s. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

Fig. 1.4 Attic kylix signed by Euphronios as potter and attributed to Onesimos as painter, from Caere, view of exterior with Etruscan inscription. 490s. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)





Fig. 1.5 Fragmentary Attic phiale, Southern Sanctuary of Pyrgi, view of exterior with Odysseus and the massacre of the suitors. Ca. 490. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

While their monumental size and fine craftsmanship made them worthy offerings, both vessels also feature unique iconography. Graphic scenes of the sack of Troy (Ilioupersis) fill the interior of the kylix (fig. 1.3), while its exterior depicts Patroklos leading Briseis away from Achilles on one side and an unidentified fight, perhaps Ajax and Hektor watched by gods, on the other (fig. 1.4). As Alan Shapiro stresses, the Ilioupersis scenes juxtapose good and bad behavior by the Greeks at Troy, with the bad behavior cast specifically as impiety against the gods.⁷⁶ Thus Achilles' son, Neoptolemos, murders the Trojan king Priam and his grandson Astyanax on an altar of Zeus Herkeios in the tondo, while in the inner zone Ajax the Lesser assaults a nearly naked Cassandra in a sanctuary of Athena. Other scenes present Greek soldiers in a better light: Akamas and Demophon rescue their grandmother, Aithra (the mother of Theseus), and Odysseus shows mercy to Theano and Antenor, a Trojan couple who had treated him hospitably during an earlier embassy to the city. As Shapiro notes, this latter scene is unknown from other vases of the time, while a scene of Menelaos rushing toward Helen is likewise the first surviving depiction of this episode. Onesimos' version stresses the surrender of Menelaos as he drops his sword and respects the power of Aphrodite, who oversees the encounter along with Eros.⁷⁷ Shapiro suggests that the selection and arrangement of scenes presume a knowledgeable viewer familiar not only with the episodes themselves but with their aftermath: the positive or negative consequences for each of the Greeks of their actions.

The imagery of the Pyrgi phiale likewise relies on juxtaposition to impart an apparent moral message. The interior depicts a symposion that, at least in its current state of preservation, cannot be linked to a mythological story, with both male-male and male-female couples reclining on cushions.⁷⁸ Musical instruments hang in the field, among them a phorminx and an aulos case, and musical performances are in progress, featuring a man with barbitos and a female symposiast playing the aulos as her enraptured companion is shown with frontal face. The happy and harmonious occasion contrasts with the chaos on the phiale's exterior (fig. 1.5); this is one of only a few Attic vases (and the first known example) showing Odysseus' revenge on the feasting suitors who have overtaken his Ithakan home. Dead and wounded bodies are draped over richly carved *klinai*, and in a detail straight from the *Odyssey* (22.239), the severed head of the diviner Leiodes lies on the ground and continues to speak. Together the phiale's scenes become a commentary on *xenia* and guest behavior good and bad.⁷⁹

Given the recurrence of other vases painted and/or potted by Euphronios at Caere (fig. 1.2), as well as the tendency for oversized cups and phialai to be sent to Etruria, it is reasonable to suspect that both these vessels were made for export or were even special commissions from or via traders.⁸⁰ Onesimos and Euphronios may have taken advantage of the situation to debut innovative iconography along with technical virtuosity, knowing that their work would be well received. They seem to have assumed a certain level of knowledge in their customers abroad, referring specifically to details of the myths and depicting scenes that even in that period of prolific production in the Kerameikos were rare. On the kylix, Greek inscriptions labeling many of the characters and the altar of Zeus Herkeios were perhaps intended to provide clarity, as well as enhance the cup's visual appeal and maybe even value. Shapiro suggests that the political climate in Athens in the 490s—after the sacks of Sardis and Miletos and on the brink of the Persian Wars proper—contributed to the selection of themes, making the cup's iconography a reflection on Greek identity and acts of hubris.⁸¹ Its being made for export, I suggest, would not preclude such intentions on the part of Onesimos and Euphronios. It is unlikely, however, that they expected their Etruscan clientele to know about such subtexts, even if they anticipated that buyers would recognize all the myths and the broader message that accompanied them.

For the dedicant of the Pyrgi phiale we have no evidence. Because the Pyrgi sanctuaries were part of a coastal *emporion* and patronized by Etruscans, Greeks, and Phoenicians alike, we cannot even be certain that the dedicant was Etruscan, although that is most likely. With the kylix, there is no doubt. Two fragmentary Etruscan inscriptions appear under the foot (fig. 1.4), one with Archaic-period script, the other longer and neo-Etruscan (post-ca. 450). Rex Wallace translates the latter as “Cavi Cr[ai]culi dedicated this (kylix) on behalf of Hercle,” in a formula like other votive inscriptions; based on what remains, the Archaic text may have been similar, if not identical.⁸² Including the dedicant's full name brought respect as the cup was publicly displayed in the sanctuary. The presence of two noncontemporary inscriptions is puzzling, however, and extensive ancient repairs in which the cup's broken foot was reattached provide a clue. Use of bronze implies that the kylix was mended in Etruria instead of Athens before transport; in Athens, lead was the

preferred choice. The expertise and technology required to make the repair meant that the cup had to leave the sanctuary.⁸³ As described by Maya Elston, “a metal sleeve was worked to fit into the hollow interior of the stem; then a hole was drilled through the center of the tondo; finally, a pin, or rivet, was threaded through the hole and connected to the sleeve within the stem, thereby securing the join.”⁸⁴ Perhaps a formal rededication with new inscription was felt necessary after the kylix’s return and reinstallation.⁸⁵ Ancient bronze repairs can also be seen on the Pyrgi phiale, although in its fragmentary condition no further details can be ascertained.⁸⁶ For both vessels, repairs suggest objects held in high enough esteem to merit the treatment and the trouble. Apparently, mending did not negate their suitability as votives.

As for why these particular vessels may have been chosen as votives beyond their size and quality, this cannot be determined, especially given the lacunae in their biographies. Heracle/Herakles’ legendary appetite for drink may have occasioned such a tremendous kylix, and he had been an earlier sacker of Troy to boot. The messages of piety and hubris contained in the Ilioupersis were, of course, apropos for a sanctuary. As for the Pyrgi phiale, although we do not know to which deity it was given, stories of Odysseus had been known in Etruria and Caere itself since at least the early seventh century. The Aristonothos krater, with the blinding of Polyphemos, is attributed to a Greek immigrant artist and was made for a local client.⁸⁷ Hesiod claims that Odysseus’ children with Circe were ancestors of the Etruscans (*Theogony* 1011–18); it is unknown whether the Etruscans themselves held that belief, at least this early, but later tradition made Uthuze/Odysseus the founder of the Etruscan city of Cortona.⁸⁸ He and his son Telemachos may have had special ancestral relevance for Etruscan consumers.⁸⁹ It may not be coincidental that the next known representation of the massacre of the suitors on an Athenian vase appears on a red-figure skyphos by the Penelope Painter found in a ruined tomb at Tarquinia; later still, the theme would be popular on late Etruscan ash urns.⁹⁰ Regardless of each dedicant’s motivations, through their choices both the phiale and the kylix were etruscanized into the ritual world of the sanctuary and became a means of communicating with the gods. Adding an inscription in the case of the kylix, not once but twice, not only guaranteed Heracle’s recognition and receipt but cemented the cup’s new identity.

I do not claim to have the first word or the last on Attic vases in Etruria in this volume, for much work remains to be done. I do aim to advance the ongoing scholarly conversation by asserting the significance of the vases’ Etruscan lives; raising the profile of their mostly anonymous Etruscan owners as well as the traders who carried the vessels; and showing that the Etruscan export market impacted Athenian production in tangible ways. With the illicit trade in antiquities remaining a worldwide issue even today, I admit to an ulterior message as well, hovering quietly in the background. Reacting to the controversies over the Euphronios krater (fig. 1.2) and other objects facing repatriation, Boardman argues that the krater’s significance is “98 percent in its sheer existence (we know who made it, when and where) with only a 2 percent loss in knowledge of what Etruscan grave it came from.”⁹¹ As will be apparent in the chapters that follow, I do not agree, and the fact that so few documented assemblages are available for analysis illuminates the material and intellectual consequences of early, unscientific exploration and, more recently, of illicit looting.⁹²

Ideally, I and other scholars would have a sizable sample of provenienced material that would encourage more conclusive readings than can be currently offered. In reality, the biographies of too many Athenian vases are mostly erased, a fact that I and others bump against continually in our research. In the course of my work, I have been able to recontextualize a handful of vessels now in American museums through nineteenth-century journals like the *Notizie degli Scavi* and *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (see chapter 6), and others have been similarly fortunate with other long-dispersed vases.⁹³ In the majority of cases, however, information once lost cannot be regained, and even what can be deduced from unprovenienced objects is never enough. With all its limitations of what can and cannot be said, this volume serves as a call to awareness of archaeological context, not just in the abstract but for the sake of Attic vases and other artifacts yet to be revealed.

The Nature of the Athenian Vase Trade

BETWEEN THE FIGURES OF PRIAM AND HEKTOR on a red-figure amphora (fig. 2.1) runs a three-line inscription, oriented vertically: *egraphsen / Euthymides / ho Polio* (“Euthymides, the son of Pollios, painted [this or me]”).¹ The use of the patronymic is not unprecedented on Attic vases—it had been used by a few potters in *epoiesen* signatures on black-figure vessels—but it is unique among painters, emphasizing Euthymides’ citizenship in an industry that included many non-Athenians.² It also likely highlights his membership in an artisan family. His father, Pollios, has been identified by some scholars with a sculptor whose works appear on the Akropolis, although he could have been a potter-painter otherwise unknown.³ While not fully stoichedon, the signature possesses an official character that diverges from most appearances of *egraphsen* and *epoiesen*. The fact that Euthymides placed it between a Homeric father-son pair enhances its gravitas, the names *Priamos* and *Hektor* joining the *egraphsen* inscription in its rather tight space.

At far left on the amphora’s other side (fig. 2.2) appears another unusual vertical inscription: *hos oudepote Euphronion*, “as never Euphronios.” Three komasts drink, dance, and wiggle across the pot, the left-hand man with kantharos proclaimed the leader with *komarchos* beside his head. The virtuosity in draftsmanship conveyed by their revelry has inspired many scholars to read “as never Euphronios” as a boast against the painter of that name (figs. 1.1–2), in the sense of “Euphronios can never do this.”⁴ The inscription may even respond to a specific vase (or vice versa): on a fragmentary calyx krater in the Louvre, next to another scene of cavorting komasts, appears *Euphro[nios] egr[a]phsen tade*, “Euphronios painted this [or: these things].”⁵ Like the text of Euthymides, this too has been read as an expression of artistic pride.⁶

Euthymides’ amphora forms part of a group of vases from the so-called Pioneers that reference fellow craftsmen through labeled figures and other inscriptions. Euthymides himself, perhaps a good-spirited fellow as his name suggests, earns several shout-outs. The greeting *Khairito*

Fig. 2.1 Attic amphora signed by Euthymides as painter, from Vulci. Ca. 510. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8730/2307.
(Photo by Renate Kühling, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)

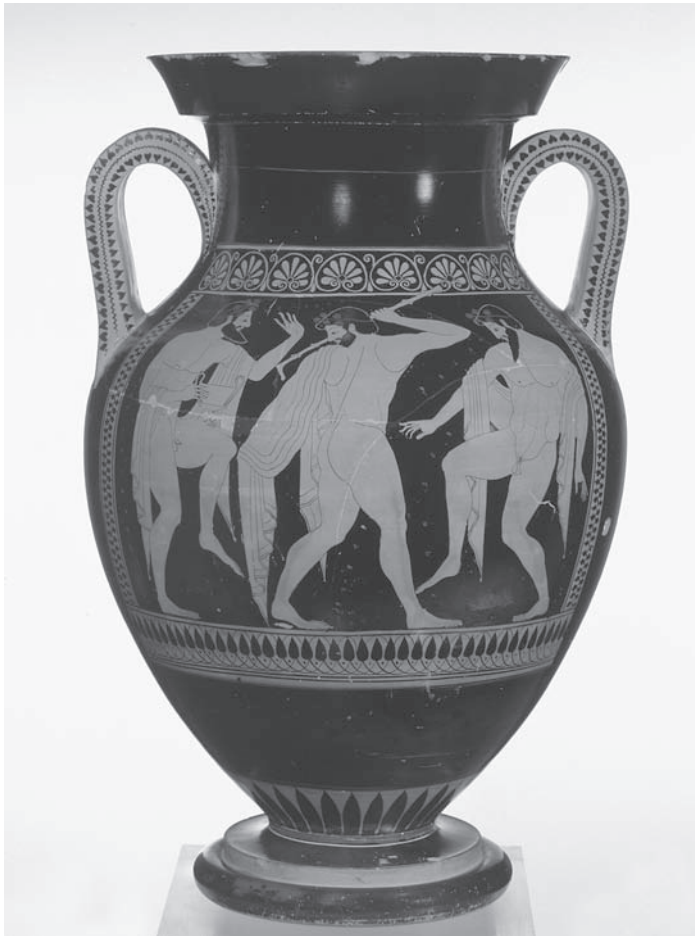


Fig. 2.2 Attic amphora signed by Euthymides as painter, from Vulci. Ca. 510. Reverse of fig. 2.1. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8730/2307.
(Photo by Renate Kühling, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)

Euthymides appears beside an archer on the shoulder of one hydria, while *Euthymides khaire* can be found in a symposion scene on another.⁷ On a hydria attributed to Phintias (fig. 2.3), *Euthymides* is the subject of a *kottabos*-toast between two women reclining at a symposion, barebreasted, with himations bunched around their waists.⁸ The inscription reads, “this is for you, fair *Euthymides*,” an inversion of the usual game in which men competed for the company of a *hetaira* or beautiful boy.⁹ *Euthymides* himself appears below as a young man learning to play the lyre, an *aner mousikos* in a scene of traditional elite education. Both Phintias and *Euthymides* cast figures on other vessels as the potter *Sosias*: Phintias on an amphora where *Sosias* appears as an athlete, *Euthymides* on a fragmentary volute krater where *Sosias* reclines at a symposion.¹⁰ The series continues with the painter *Smikros*, who is not only depicted by *Euphronios* and *Oltos* but portrays himself as an enraptured symposiast on a stamnos.¹¹ On a psykter by *Smikros*, *Euphronios* courts a youth named by inscription as *Leagros*, the “it boy” of the Athenian elite.¹²

Both the meaning behind these so-called potter portraits and their intended audience have been the subject of much discussion. Some have read scenes like *Smikros’* psykter as evidence that craftsmen mixed with the glitterati.¹³ Others have seen the representations and inscriptions as reflecting genuine social aspirations, meaning that even if the *Pioneers* were not permitted to join the elite in their pastimes, some wanted to do so and were teased by their colleagues for it.¹⁴ Still others have viewed the scenes as subversive at a time of political turmoil.¹⁵ Artisan *banousoi*, Richard Neer argues, used image and text to craft an “egalitarian fiction” and appropriate the milieu and mores of the aristocracy.¹⁶ As for the intended viewers, the majority of scholars have observed that the *Pioneers* would appreciate the message among themselves, whatever it might be.¹⁷ An added audience of elite Athenian symposiasts is presumed in most cases or even claimed outright.¹⁸ Guy Hedreen compares these scenes to iambic poetry at the symposion, noting that poking fun at social climbers and caricaturing the manners of others formed a major theme of the genre.¹⁹ He proposes that the similarity would make the images more acceptable, even appealing, to an upper-class audience. Neer likewise believes the scenes were intended for elite eyes, despite the alleged subtext of political subversion. Skirting the question of why the *Pioneers* might jeopardize their business, he suggests that any such message was sufficiently hidden that aristocratic viewers would read the scenes as flattering.

Nearly all analyses of the *Pioneer* “potter portraits” neglect a simple truth: of the fifteen or so vases in the group (here including both vases with inscriptions mentioning craftsmen and those that give figures craftsmen’s names), eight have a known Etruscan provenience (one in Chiusi and seven in Vulci, including the amphora by *Euthymides* [figs. 2.1–2] and the hydria by Phintias [fig. 2.3]), one was found near Naples in Campania, and one at Morgantina in Sicily—the fragmentary volute krater by *Euthymides*—where it was used by Sikels, not Greeks.²⁰ Others are almost certainly from Etruria, judging from their collecting histories: for example, the *Smikros* stamnos in Brussels, formerly part of the Campana collection, and the *Smikros* psykter at the Getty, acquired on the art market in the early 1980s. Neer observes that “it is possible that the vases were made solely for export, since those with secure proveniences were all unearthed in Italy” but pivots to



Fig. 2.3 Attic hydria attributed to Phintias, from Vulci. Ca. 510. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2421. (Photo by Renate Kühling, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)

focus on hypothetical elite viewers, claiming that “it is preferable to explain Athenian imagery in Athenian terms.”²¹

Privileging members of the Athenian elite when they were never the intended audience—as seems likely, given the shapes of the vases and their findspots—preserves a local sympotic context for the potter portraits at the expense of the export market. Taking elite symposiasts out of the picture, however, resurrects the question of who *was* the intended audience. It would be unrealistic to theorize that the “mutual pictorial leg-pulling” (Eva Keuls’s phrase) was meant for Etruscan or other non-Greek viewers in Italy; even if such consumers read Greek (and at least some probably could), they would be unfamiliar with the real people labeled in the scenes and would miss the jokes.²² The craftsmen themselves remain a likely intended audience. The inscriptions hint at a competitive atmosphere in the close environment of the Kerameikos, friendly or otherwise, and the *agon* no doubt had an artistic element, as suggested by Euthymides’ jab at Euphronios (if correctly interpreted). But it was a competition for business, too, which introduces another likely audience for the in-jokes of the potter portraits: the traders (*emporoi*) who frequented the quarter. Most traders seem to have been Greek, although not Athenian; if literate, as many seem to have been, they could read the inscriptions. In addition to knowing the potters and painters, they may have known other figures like Leagros through local gossip. Even if they did not, as fellow *banousoi* they still would have appreciated gags about upper-class shenanigans. Was “as never Euphronios” (fig. 2.2) a not-too-subtle dig at the competition while trying to impress a potential buyer? When Phintias cast Euthymides as a wannabe aristocrat (fig. 2.3), did the good-natured humor become a selling point?

Certainly the potter portraits provide a vivid reminder that the Athenian Kerameikos was a small place, where craftsmen from different workshops (*ergasteria*, or more specifically, *kerameia*) knew each other and were aware of each other’s output. For the Pioneers and many workshops of the sixth and fifth centuries, the export market to Etruria and elsewhere was a profitable, even lucrative, enterprise, although it is true that many of these same *kerameia* produced for the home market as well.²³ Even if potters and painters did not join elite symposia in real life as the potter portraits suggest, Akropolis dedications in marble and (lost) bronze attest to the wealth that could be obtained.²⁴ Based on its letterforms, a fragmentary dedication from Euphronios *kerameus* to Athena Hygieia, perhaps part of a pillar or base, dates from the 470s and thus later in the artist’s life; promising one-tenth of his income to the goddess (a *dekate*), it may have expressed gratitude for good health and a good career, commemorated the reestablishment of his workshop following the Persian defeat, or both.²⁵ It does not seem coincidental that other Akropolis dedications, both sculptures and actual vases with votive inscriptions (some as first-fruits, *aparchai*, presumably to Athena Ergane), bear the names of or can be attributed to Kerameikos craftsmen whose products traveled abroad and who found success accordingly: Nearchos, Lydos, Andokides, and, on seven marble *perirrhanteia*, perhaps the same Onesimos linked with the Ilioupersis kylix (figs. 1.3–4).²⁶

To reconstruct the activities of potters, painters, and the traders who worked with them, various types of physical evidence can be used, including analysis of findspots and distribution data,

where the tools of attribution come in very handy; workshop deposits that survive from Athens; mercantile trademarks and price inscriptions on the vases themselves; and the remains of shipwreck cargoes. Each category brings problems of selective survival and interpretive lacunae, but when considered together, the evidence reveals that trade in Athenian figured pottery was complex and directed: not just to Etruria, the focus of this study, but also to other parts of the Mediterranean and within the home market of Attica itself. Workshops and traders engaged in mutually beneficial relationships that informed the production, transport, and acquisition of vases. As asserted in chapter 1, the export trade shaped the ceramic industry to a considerable degree, as *kerameia* and *emporoi* employed multiple strategies to reach foreign markets and earn profit.

Recent reevaluations of ancient trade and economy support this model. For decades, the views of Moses Finley and others like him prevailed: the idea that the Greek economy was essentially primitivist, focused on self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) with little concern for foreign exports.²⁷ Reciprocity and gift-exchange were emphasized as the foundation of a status-based economy; market exchange, which Finley believed was seen as morally inferior, less so. Within the last fifteen years, scholars have challenged this position, pointing to the many literary references to market exchange; texts mentioning fluctuations of supply and demand that influenced the price of goods; and the wide range of imported goods available in Athens as well as evidence for large-scale export.²⁸ Hesiod speaks in his *Works and Days* of *kerdos* (profit), *ploutos* (wealth), *eris* (competition as a force for growth and good), and even foreign trade; similar references multiply in later centuries.²⁹ Archaeological evidence has advanced the discussion: for example, the excavation of shipwrecks and the discovery of lead tablet letters and other documents that show the complexity of trade networks. Any ideal of Athenian *autarkeia* has been revealed as a utopian paradigm rarely achieved, and moral positions against trade and profit have been shown to be the malcontented musings of ancient authors with an agenda. One could not characterize the Athenian or Greek economy as capitalist in the modern sense, but market exchange formed an essential part of daily life, in concert with other types of exchange, including the tradition of gift-exchange highlighted by Finley.³⁰ As is suggested below, market exchange as seen in the pottery trade was socially embedded, with reciprocity and cooperation playing a role among workshops and between workshops and traders.

FINDSPOTS AND DISTRIBUTION DATA

In theory, one can use the movement of Athenian figured pottery to discern the tastes and choices of consumers, as well as strategies adopted by workshops and traders to reach them. In practice, working with statistics and distribution data encounters obstacles. Findspots remain undocumented for the majority of surviving vases, and often only the name of a site, if anything, is known. The biases of excavation, collection, and scholarship likewise play a role. Historically, the Italian sites of Etruria, Magna Graecia, and Sicily have been more thoroughly explored—whether through controlled excavations, antiquarian exploration, or looting—than Athens or Attica, with complete vases of higher quality (by modern standards) privileged over fragmentary vessels and/or those

of lesser draftsmanship.³¹ Cemeteries have tended to be favored over sanctuaries and domestic sites because of the likelihood of finding complete vases, a bias that has similarly informed the picture of Etruscan consumption. Recent excavations at sanctuaries like Gravisca near Tarquinia and Pyrgi near Caere have yielded sufficient Attic pottery to alter not only the statistics but our understanding of Etruscan use of these vases (e.g., fig. 1.5), while the few domestic sites that have been uncovered make it clear that imported ware could be used in homes and was not reserved for votive dedication or deposition in tombs.³² Warnings that modern finds do not equate to ancient distribution are therefore well-heeded.³³ Even with already excavated sites, one can still face the problem of incomplete documentation, as some places uncovered decades or even a century ago lack comprehensive publication.³⁴ Archival investigations have helped address this issue, but more work remains to be done.³⁵

Only a small proportion of Attic figured vases survive today in the first place. Estimates of what percentage of originally produced pottery is preserved range from as little as 0.2 percent to as much as 1.0 or 2.0 percent.³⁶ Given the uncertainties, a 0.5 percent recovery ratio is a safe bet, keeping in mind that some sites have a higher recovery ratio than others and therefore no estimate can be universally applied.³⁷ Philip Sapirstein proposes that at the industry's peak in the early fifth century, Athenian workshops may have produced something like 50,000 figured vases a year, while Vladimir Stissi advocates much larger totals: "The total annual output of Attic figured pottery in the decades around 500 may well have approached 500,000 and could hardly have been less than 250,000."³⁸ A related and equally debated question concerns how many artisans worked in the Kerameikos. Stissi favors a larger population of craftsmen (at least 150–250 active ca. 525–450), while Sapirstein supports a substantially reduced number of about 75 potters and painters for around the same time.³⁹

Even with all the mitigating factors, distribution data support the contention not only that trade in Athenian figured pottery to Etruria was substantial, but that it was directed or targeted to varying degrees. This situation did not happen overnight. Attic figured ware was made primarily for local consumption during the late seventh and early sixth centuries, and although some large vases like amphorae, skyphos-kraters, and dinoi, as well as other shapes like lekanides and olpai, arrived at Caere, Cortona, Chiusi, and other inland communities in this period, it is not clear how many were acquired via commercial trade or by other means such as gift-exchange.⁴⁰ The sample is too small for many hypotheses beyond identifying Caere as the likely port of entry.⁴¹ Attic exports to Etruria at this time were matched by others to eastern Mediterranean sites like Naukratis and Samos; from distribution data, one receives the impression of traders introducing Athenian figured pottery to join other wares already on the market (like East Greek and Corinthian), and of Athenian workshops growing in size and specialization in response to success abroad.⁴² In Etruria, Attic ware faced competition from Corinthian exports, whose popularity was long established but which were falling out of fashion. It is telling that Athenian workshops adopted Corinthianizing elements like stylized rosettes, birds, animals, and miniature narrative friezes (at least temporarily), and appropriated some larger Corinthian shapes, although not the aryballoi for which

Corinthian workshops were best known.⁴³ One of those shapes, the column krater, seems to be a case of Corinthian-directed production and trade, given that nearly all examples outside Corinth itself have been found at Caere, in both tombs and domestic contexts; for Attic workshops, these would become important export products as well.⁴⁴ Lakonian ware was likewise traded to Etruria; as Maria Pipili has shown, Etruria is second only to Samos in the number of Lakonian black-figure vessels with known provenience, with stemmed cups (kylikes) and volute kraters being particularly favored.⁴⁵ Perhaps not coincidentally, stemmed kylikes, along with amphorae (including the so-called horsehead amphorae early on), became the most prominent type of Attic vessels exported to Etruria from the second quarter of the sixth century forward.⁴⁶ By mid-century, Etruria out-ranked other Mediterranean regions in terms of Attic vases received and had become the profitable market of choice. Corinthian and Lakonian ware, meanwhile, saw its earlier success eclipsed by the strategic endeavors of both eager traders and Athenian *kerameia*.

When examining distribution data from the heyday of Attic exports to Etruria, meaningful patterns emerge whether one considers the diffusion of vases by shape, by attribution to a specific painter or workshop (when attributions are possible), or even by particular iconographic subjects.⁴⁷ Patterns that defy coincidence imply that workshops and traders possessed sufficient knowledge about consumer demand to tailor production and distribution. In terms of vase shapes, some workshops produced forms directly inspired by Etruscan bucchero or metalwork, such as kyathoi—cup-shaped ladles with high-slung handles—and so-called Nikosthenic amphorae with strap handles and often rich ornament (fig. 2.4).⁴⁸ Most of these were traded back to Etruria: nearly all Attic kyathoi with known provenience come from Etruscan sites (especially Vulci), with a few exceptions from the Athenian Akropolis, while Nikosthenic amphorae with known proveniences nearly all derive from Caere. The carinated kantharos and so-called Nikosthenic pyxis, a type of lidded chalice, may also have originated in Etruscan bucchero or metalwork and similarly found enthusiastic buyers in that region.⁴⁹ The stamnos is another shape believed to imitate Etruscan forms, with distribution data showing that stamnoi held particular appeal in both southern Etruria and Etruscan communities in Campania.⁵⁰ Even with more typically Greek shapes, one notes certain preferences in certain places. Thus shoulder hydriai, with their sharp profiles reminiscent of metal vessels, were strongly favored at Vulci in black figure; even with the advent and growing popularity of the rounded kalpis type, shoulder hydriai in red figure were still sent to that site (e.g., fig. 2.3).⁵¹ The neck amphora, a shape that had ranked high among Attic exports from early on, can be found at many Etruscan sites but especially Vulci and Tarquinia, while being less common in Athens itself.⁵² Oversized cups and phialai were popular in Etruria for offering in both tombs and sanctuaries, with Athenian workshops tailoring production accordingly (e.g., figs. 1.3–5).⁵³

Distribution data likewise suggest that particular painters and workshops cultivated close relationships with the Etruscan market, or at least that traders working with them did. The so-called Tyrrhenian Group (fig. 2.5), which may have been a loose gathering of potter-painters working in a similar style rather than a single *kerameion*, has long been recognized as having strong ties with Etruria through the distribution of ovoid neck amphorae, and indeed seems to have been one



Fig. 2.4 Attic so-called Nikosthenic amphora signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*. Ca. 510. Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1961.23. (Photo by H. Koppermann, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 74.2094)

of the first workshops (or group of workshops) to target the Etruscan market heavily.⁵⁴ In Jeroen Kluiver's 2003 catalogue, twenty-three "Tyrrhenian" ovoid neck amphorae have a known provenience of Vulci, and nineteen of Caere; nearly all other examples with a known site come from Etruria.⁵⁵ Archival research on the former Campana collection augments these totals, for François Villard has shown that Louvre vases with Campana inventory numbers higher than 10226 are almost certainly from Caere.⁵⁶ If we add the relevant Campana/Louvre vases to those in Kluiver's catalogue, the number of Tyrrhenian amphorae from Caere surges to fifty.⁵⁷ Vulci and Caere, especially the latter, were the entry points of these ovoid amphorae into Etruria, from which they and the occasional Tyrrhenian krater made their way to Orvieto, Chiusi, and other inland communities like Marciano and Sarteano.⁵⁸ The craftsmen of the Tyrrhenian Group and the traders who worked with them successfully built upon the burgeoning Etruscan interest in Attic figured

pottery—Kluiver dates the Group’s wares to ca. 565–545—and, in particular, a growing taste for Attic amphorae.⁵⁹ The shapes of Tyrrhenian ovoid amphorae bear some resemblance to the work of Sophilos (including some vases sent to Etruria, like an amphora from Veii), while Corinthianizing elements reveal a mercantile desire to replicate the popularity of Corinthian ware.⁶⁰ By offering a hybrid of the Attic ovoid amphora form, Attic-style narrative scenes, and Corinthianizing motifs, Tyrrhenian Group potter-painters positioned themselves as astute interpreters of consumer desires.

Another oft-cited example of an Attic workshop targeting the Etruscans involves the potter Nikosthenes, who spearheaded a prolific *kerameion* from ca. 540 to 510 and has been credited with “deliberate entrepreneurial skills” and “acute commercial sense.”⁶¹ While the western distribution of his vases implies insider knowledge from traders or other sources, Nikosthenes took the extra and unusual step of adapting Etruscan vase forms for sale to this market.⁶² In addition to Nikosthenic amphorae (fig. 2.4), traded primarily to Caere, he may have originated the Attic kyathos and so-called Chalcidizing cups with their distinctively profiled feet. The latter were inspired by so-called

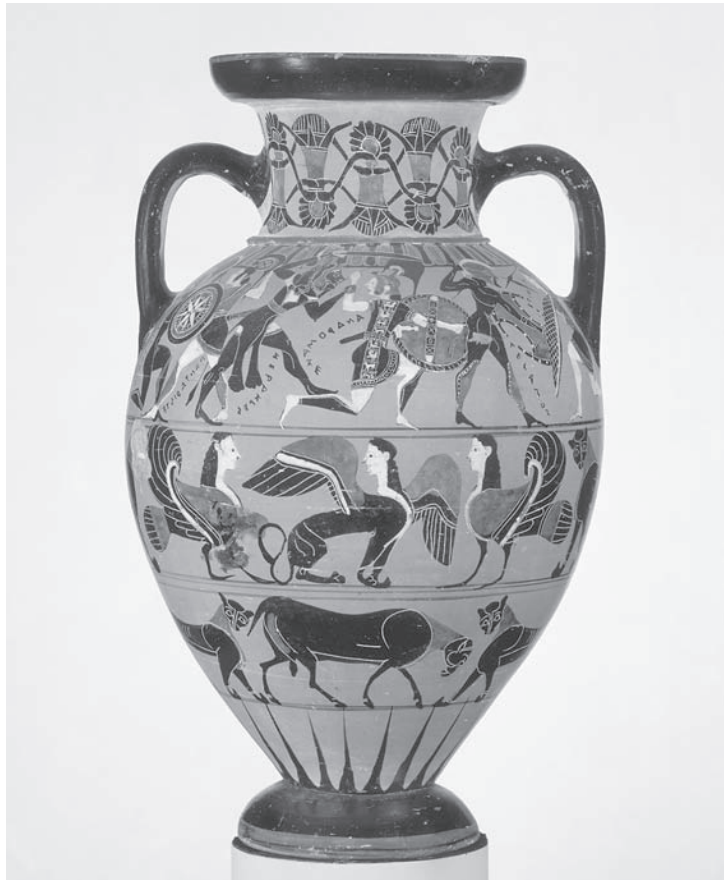


Fig. 2.5. Attic so-called Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Timiades Painter, Tomb XLIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 560. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 98.916. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Chalcidian cups thought to have been made by Greek workshops in Rhegion, in south Italy, and may have been developed specifically to compete with those workshops for trade in southern Etruria.⁶³ Further attestation of Nikosthenes' purposeful branding to appeal to the Etruscans—and to the traders who carried his products there—can be seen in his propensity for signing vases (figs. 2.4, 2.6).⁶⁴ As Jeffrey Hurwit observes, *Nikosthenes epoiesen* “is the single most common signature in Attic vase-painting,” occurring about 150 times, not only on vases Nikosthenes made and possibly painted himself, but on vases decorated by other members of the workshop, with the writing in other hands.⁶⁵ Dozens of the signatures appear on black-figure Nikosthenic amphorae meant for Etruscan export (fig. 2.4), which suggests that he felt their inclusion to be commercially advantageous.⁶⁶

Distribution data show that even workshops that profited heavily from the lucrative Etruscan market were mindful of other audiences and diversified production accordingly. Some shapes produced by the Nikosthenic workshop were inspired by eastern Mediterranean forms and were



Fig. 2.6 Attic eye cup signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*, from Vulci. Ca. 520. Paris, Musée du Louvre F122. (Photo by Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY)

exported eastward, such as phialai in Six's and polychrome Six's technique, inspired by Near Eastern metalware.⁶⁷ A few Nikosthenic pyxides from the potter's hand have a Greek or eastern Mediterranean provenience and feature different iconography than those sent west.⁶⁸ Similarly, the Tyrrhenian Group's vases appear in isolated numbers at eastern sites like Naukratis in Egypt and Klazomenai and Phokaia in Ionia.⁶⁹ Such findings do not diminish the importance of the Etruscan market. The trade in Athenian figured pottery is revealed to be even more complex with the introduction of data across the Mediterranean, and workshops and traders are shown to have been more shrewd in their dealings with customers at home and abroad.

Where patterns in shape and workshop can sometimes be easily spotted, determining whether specific imagery was chosen for the Etruscan market is more difficult. In many cases, similar scenes appear on vases found elsewhere, including Athens itself, although the shapes can vary. So-called erotic pursuit scenes with a god, goddess, or youth chasing a male or female figure, for example, prevalent in the Early Classical period, are favored on column kraters, stamnoi, pelikai, and other large vases for tombs in Etruria as well as south Italy and Sicily, whereas in Athens they appear on pyxides and lekythoi, shapes preferred locally for deposition in graves.⁷⁰ It has been argued that the appearance of similar scenes on pots sent to Etruria and pots from other areas, including Athens itself, indicates that Etruscan demand did not sway Athenian production when it came to iconography.⁷¹ This claim can be refined. Athenian workshops drew upon myths, customs, and motifs with which they were familiar, and in this way they operated independently of Etruscan and other consumers with regard to iconographic choices. However, by revealing patterns in the popularity of certain scene types at certain points in time, on particular shapes, and even at specific places, distribution data suggest that workshops could and did gear imagery toward external demand. If a workshop learned from traders that black-figure hydriai with scenes of the apotheosis of Herakles by chariot sold well at Vulci—which they did—then more were made, and in that manner, through their purchasing power, Etruscan consumers steered iconographic production.⁷² Scenes of athletes provide a striking case, since, as Sian Lewis notes, so much exported Attic pottery carried this imagery, and yet these vases are considered important evidence for the role of athletics in Greek culture.⁷³ While I would not go as far as Lewis in asserting that the iconography of exported vessels cannot be taken as indicative of Athenian attitudes toward sport, there is no question of selective Etruscan desire for such subjects, and even the apparent targeting toward Etruscan consumers in some cases. The Nikosthenic workshop, for instance, produced a series of Nikosthenic amphorae with boxing scenes, and all of them with known sites come from Caere.⁷⁴ Consumers abroad may have perceived a given image differently than Athenian viewers, and perhaps even than the vase painter himself; thus athletic scenes within an Etruscan tomb context would have been equated with funerary games. Parallel readings, however, do not preclude an impact on production.

The apparent exception proving the iconographic rule concerns the vases of the Perizoma Group, a late sixth-century workshop that produced primarily black-figure stamnoi (fig. 2.7) but other shapes, too, such as one-handled kantharoi.⁷⁵ Nearly all of this Group's vases with known provenience went to Etruria, especially Vulci and Caere. As noted earlier, the stamnos shape is



Fig. 2.7 Attic stamnos attributed to the Michigan Painter/Perizoma Group. Ca. 500. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection 50.8.2. (Photo courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

thought to have been inspired by Etruscan prototypes, which helps explain their local popularity. The Perizoma Group's *stamnoi* mostly feature scenes of chariots, *komoi*, symposia, and athletes (including boxers): subjects that, for the most part, are typical in Attic black figure. Their execution, however, is less typical. For example, instead of being shown nude, male athletes wear white loincloths (*perizomata*, giving the Group its modern name). Alan Shapiro has further remarked upon the women reclining alongside men in the Group's symposion scenes and the armed dancers in scenes of funerary procession (*ekphora*) on three *kantharoi*.⁷⁶ He proposes that these images, which are more in keeping with Etruscan taste than Greek, show Etruscans as visualized by the Group's painters, depicted on shapes specific to the Etruscan market and for Etruscan consumption. Such an interpretation implies insider knowledge on the workshop's part facilitating targeted production.

Other cases are suggestive but vulnerable to preservation bias. At least twenty-two surviving black- and red-figure vases, mostly amphorae, depict *hieroskopia* (or extispicy), the examination of a sacrificed animal's entrails for divinatory purposes.⁷⁷ This scene type had a restricted period of popularity from ca. 530 until the time of the Persian Wars. Contrary to typical Greek practice, in which a trained seer sought the signs, on the vases a warrior consults the liver before departure from home, a divergence from reality that emphasizes the scenes' heroic yet poignant themes. Only four *hieroskopia* vases have a known provenience: all from Etruria (Tarquinia, Caere, and Vulci). Although none have a documented findspot, presumably they come from tombs.⁷⁸ Another six are in Italian museums and surely come from Etruscan sites, while the remaining twelve have collecting histories implying Etruscan findspots. The sample's small size admittedly causes difficulty. It is possible, however, that *hieroskopia* scenes represent targeted marketing to an Etruscan clientele for whom this form of divination was important, although in Etruria, as in Greece, trained professionals conducted the rites.⁷⁹ More persuasive, perhaps, are scenes of the flight of Aineias and Anchises from Troy. These appear on over a dozen black-figure vases with confirmed Vulci provenience, including amphorae (multiple examples attributed to the Leagros Group), a hydria (also attributed to the Leagros Group), and an eye cup from the Nikosthenic workshop (fig. 2.6), plus a few more vases from Caere and Tarquinia.⁸⁰ Other Aineias scenes, including those on a group of black-figure *lekythoi*, come from elsewhere in south Italy and Sicily, while only two are documented from Athenian contexts: a black-figure hydria and an *olpe* fragment from the Agora. It has been suggested that western interest in this subject stems from the story's Italian connections.⁸¹ If correct, then workshops not only tailored Aineias imagery to customers abroad but varied shapes accordingly: *lekythoi* to areas with mainly Greek consumers, shapes preferred by Etruscans to Etruria.

POTTERY WORKSHOP DEPOSITS IN ATHENS

Athenian workshop organization and space have occupied much scholarly attention in recent years and, like the study of the ancient Greek economy, have undergone reevaluation. The pervading model of Renaissance-style ateliers, sometimes rather large and with a formalized system of masters

and apprentices, has come under particular scrutiny. Vincent Tosto argues that a prolific workshop need not be large and suggests that the Nikosthenic *kerameion* housed only three to eight potters, painters, and assistants at any given time, with Nikosthenes himself serving as primary potter and probably painter.⁸² These ideas are echoed by Eleni Hasaki, who uses ethnographic research to advocate for an ancient model of “a full-time, small size, most likely family-based workshop.”⁸³ Most if not all family members participated in workshop activities, including children, performing simple tasks like running errands and stoking the fire, and women, possibly taking on duties like painting vessels.⁸⁴ There appears to have been a certain hierarchy as each person assumed tasks appropriate to his or her age and experience—the younger learning new skills from the elder as they grew—but also flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances.⁸⁵ When potter and painter were not the same person, as increasingly seems to be the case with the industry’s growth, a painter could be mobile and work for different potters in different *kerameia*: what Sapirstein calls a specialist or roving painter.⁸⁶ Not everyone involved was Athenian-born; workshop members could easily be resident immigrants, whether Greek or foreign, or else their descendants.

Kinship, friendship, and artisanal ties bound the *kerameia* clustered at the city’s northern edge. Workshops lining major roads were well located not only for customer traffic generally (including traders coming and going) but, for those nearest the Kerameikos cemetery, customers seeking vessels to dedicate at graves.⁸⁷ Some establishments may have sold their wares at stalls and shops in the Agora proper, or possibly at the *emporion* of Peiraieus after the port’s establishment in the early fifth century, but the potters’ quarter formed the industry’s busy, beating heart.⁸⁸ As suggested above by the Pioneers’ potter portraits and inscriptions, members of different workshops knew each other, and one can imagine an atmosphere both cooperative and competitive: sharing resources when needed (like water and possibly kilns), even sharing painters and ideas, but ultimately competing for business. The multigenerational history of at least some workshops (based on potters’ signatures with patronymics), their spatial concentration and proximity, and their interconnectedness in various ways combine to suggest a socially embedded market culture within the Kerameikos. Success and profit were natural concerns, but social norms within the community of craftsmen, and between the workshops and their customers, also informed production and sale.⁸⁹

Although hindered by incomplete publication, the remains of ceramic workshops in Athens support the notion of small establishments operating with awareness of consumer desires and an eye to efficiency. Two particular deposits are useful to this study, one from early in the fifth century, when Etruscan areas still received the lion’s share of exports, the other from its last decades, when southern Etruria was no longer the primary destination and trade routes had become more diversified. The former was uncovered during a 1987 rescue excavation on Marathon Street, north of the Kerameikos cemetery.⁹⁰ The deposit’s identification as workshop debris is suggested by kiln supports, prefabricated handles ready for attachment, and raw clay (*miltos*), as well as a large number of fragmentary vessels: two hundred red-figure kylix fragments and fragments of twenty red-figure skyphoi according to preliminary reports, in addition to nonfigured black-glazed ware that suggests the workshop’s diversity of production. Only some of the figural fragments have been

published, but Jean-Jacques Maffre dates nearly all to the 480s. It is possible that the deposit reflects an interruption of work as a result of the Persian sack of 480, but without full publication this can be only speculation.

The fragmentary vases have been attributed to painters believed to cluster around the potter Brygos: the Brygos Painter himself, the Briseis Painter (a member of what Beazley called the “mild Brygans”), the Castelgiorgio Painter, the Dokimasia Painter, the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, the Painter of Louvre G265, the Triptolemos Painter, and possibly Myson. One of the fragmentary kylikes has been identified as the late work of Onesimos, whom Beazley had suggested was an associate and perhaps teacher of the Brygos Painter.⁹¹ This gathering of vases affirms Beazley’s grouping of these hands on stylistic grounds; the associated individuals are likely a group of specialist painters capable of working for different *kerameia* although largely associated with Brygos *epoietes*.⁹²

The large number of cup fragments confirms the workshop’s specialization. Distribution data suggest that products of the Brygan workshop from the 480s went primarily to Etruria—to southern Etruscan cities (e.g., Vulci, Caere, and Tarquinia) as well as inland and northern communities—and sites in Etruscan Campania like Capua.⁹³ This is consistent with the overall picture of trade before the mid-470s, after which routes to Italy and the accompanying export of Attic pottery shifted to include more areas in Sicily and on the Adriatic coast. Other fragmentary cups produced by Brygan painters prior to the Persian sack have been found on the Athenian Akropolis; it is not clear whether these formed part of the *Perserschutt*, but if they had been used in the sanctuary, they served as dedications or ritual vessels, perhaps offered by the craftsmen themselves.⁹⁴ The published fragmentary kylikes from the workshop deposit whose measurements can be reconstructed all have diameters over 25 centimeters, which is consistent with Etruscan taste for cups as well as local Athenian taste for ritual ware.

Mythological subjects dominate the deposit vases published thus far, including less common themes like Herakles and Linos and Herakles and Busiris.⁹⁵ Kylikes elsewhere with known proveniences and Herakles and Busiris as a subject are all from Etruria, including Vulci, Caere, and Spina (the Spina cup is attributed to the Dokimasia Painter from the same workshop). Contemporary cups and skyphoi with Herakles and Linos have similarly been discovered in Etruria.⁹⁶ This is consistent with a larger interest in Heraklean imagery among the Etruscans; knowing the demand, painters depicted a variety of labors and other episodes on vases for export. Two cups from this deposit depict Zeus pursuing Ganymede.⁹⁷ Since they are by different hands (or so Beazley presumed), it appears that multiple painters in a workshop were given information about a subject’s desirability. Other vases attributed to Brygan painters feature the Ganymede story and were discovered in such places as Boeotia (kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter), the Athenian Akropolis (kyathos fragments attributed to the Brygos Painter), and Gela (lekythos attributed to the Briseis Painter).⁹⁸ The diversity of shapes demonstrates the adaptation of scenes by individual painters and, possibly, an awareness of the market as well. The kantharos by the Brygos Painter may have been a special commission, given the rarity of this shape in Attic red figure and the vase’s alleged Theban provenience; kantharoi were a valued form in Boeotia, where they were placed in

graves.⁹⁹ The workshop's surviving repertoire, distribution data, and the archaeological deposit combine to suggest that its members had a good notion of what their customers at home and elsewhere desired, and they specialized accordingly.¹⁰⁰

The second deposit, from a time when exports to southern Etruria were fewer and a wider range of trade destinations existed, presents a different picture when combined with distribution data. Discovered around 1904 in the vicinity of the current Thission station, this deposit lay within the Themistoklean walls of the city, unlike the previous deposit, although both are roughly in the area of the Kerameikos.¹⁰¹ Misfired fragments and test pieces help confirm a workshop. Most of the figural fragments, which number in the hundreds, date from the last quarter of the fifth century; in his examination of the deposit, John Oakley suggests that they represent one or more contemporary firings, with a handful of older fragments "swept up in the clean-up."¹⁰²

This workshop seems to have specialized in bell kraters, at this period the most commonly produced and widely exported shape. A few calyx and column kraters are also included. Eighty-two published fragments can be attributed to a single painter, the Painter of the Athens Dinos, otherwise represented by only two fragments in Beazley's catalogues. This has significant implications for the number of vases that survive today; one discovery can transform the current corpus, and a painter to whom only a few vases have been attributed may have been very prolific.¹⁰³ Other painters include the Kadmos and Pothos Painters (with additional fragments "recalling" them, to use Beazley's terminology), the Kassel Painter, and the Phiale Painter. If the deposit represents a single workshop, the painters are not as stylistically harmonious as the Brygan painters.¹⁰⁴

Fragments attributed to the Painter of the Athens Dinos exhibit a repetition of subjects and figure types, suggesting a form of serial production.¹⁰⁵ Sherds from two different kraters show Hermes and Argos and another two the Birth of Helen (an unusual scene that experiences a *floruit* at this period), while fragments of three bell kraters show youths participating in sacrificial ritual (*thysia*), each holding aloft a spit with the animal's entrails (*splanchna*).¹⁰⁶ A fourth fragment derives from a similar post-kill scene, preserving an officiant wearing a himation and with right hand raised.¹⁰⁷ Post-kill sacrifice scenes that emphasize the favorable receipt of offerings by the gods and sharing of meat among participants became popular in the second half of the fifth century, especially on kraters.¹⁰⁸ Vessels of different shapes with this subject both stayed in Attica and were exported widely across the Mediterranean to Etruria (multiple examples from Caere), south Italy and Sicily, eastern sites like Al Mina, and even Thrace.¹⁰⁹ Seven and possibly eight bell kraters with this subject can be attributed to the Pothos Painter (e.g., fig. 2.8); among the fragments in the Thission workshop deposit, as noted above, are some recalling his style.¹¹⁰ So too a calyx krater with post-kill altar scene attributed to the manner of the Kadmos Painter, another painter "recalled" in a fragment of the Thission deposit.¹¹¹ If these artists worked in the same *kerameion*, as the deposit implies, post-kill sacrifice scenes must have been one of its iconographic specialties. Unlike the Brygan and other workshops earlier in the century, however, whose potters and painters had a firmer sense of destination and for which the Etruscan market was particularly important, the Painter of the Athens Dinos, the Pothos Painter, and their contemporaries may not have known

whether their pots would stay in Athens or be purchased by traders for export abroad, and, if the latter, where the vases might go. It was advantageous to create subjects that could have broad appeal across a range of markets and to maintain a consistent output through such strategies as repetition and serial production. For this workshop, tranquil scenes of well-performed, correctly concluded *thysiai* must have fit the bill.

TRADEMARKS, BATCH NOTATIONS, AND PRICE INSCRIPTIONS

Distribution data reveal findspot patterns for exported vases that cannot be coincidental, even with the accidents of survival, and the movement of traders and the pots they acquired provides the best



Fig. 2.8 Attic bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter. Ca. 420. Paris, Musée du Louvre G496. (Photo by Stéphane Maréchal, © RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY)

explanation.¹¹² Neville Morley observes that traders could “cultivate a regular route, building up knowledge of the preferences of customers and perhaps specializing in particular goods that would always find a market,” citing the example of Demaratos of Corinth, a late seventh-century BCE aristocrat-turned-*emporos*. Dionysius of Halikarnassos said of the latter: “There was a Corinthian by the name of Demaratos, of the Bacchiad family, who chose to embark on a trading expedition and sailed to Italy in his own ship with his own cargo. He sold this cargo in the cities of Tyrrhenia, which at that time were the most prosperous in the whole of Italy, and made a large profit. Thereafter he had no interest in visiting other ports but continued to sail the same route as before, carrying Greek cargo to the Tyrrhenians and Tyrrhenian cargo to Greece, and as a result he accumulated a large fortune.”¹¹³ Dionysius was writing in the Hellenistic period for a Roman audience and may have projected practices of his time onto Demaratos, but this strategy does seem to have existed in earlier centuries.¹¹⁴ The characterization of Tyrrhenia/Etruria as a wealthy place where it was possible to trade actively in foreign products while earning great profit is relevant for the trade in Athenian figured pottery.

Traditional scholarly wisdom presented *emporoi* as poor (certainly compared to shipowners, the *naukleroi*), illiterate, and not Athenian.¹¹⁵ The evidence of shipwrecks (see the next section), documents such as maritime loan records and personal letters, and reconsideration of textual sources, however, all suggest that although it is likely correct that most were not Athenian, traders could become very successful, were not only literate but engaged actively in accounting and correspondence, and possessed sufficient knowledge about prices, supply, and demand to engage in informed exchange at their ports of call.¹¹⁶ Some ancient authors speak of the occupation with disdain, and as far back as the *Odyssey* foreign traders (namely Phoenicians) were branded as suspicious characters, but traders must have been a consistent fixture of the Athenian scene, and authors commenting on them may have had an agenda.

The best evidence for the activities of the otherwise elusive *emporoi* as related to the pottery trade comes from inscriptions written under the feet of hundreds of Attic vases: commercial marks that seem to indicate the traders themselves, batch notations that list vase shipments, and price inscriptions. Marks that likely reference individual traders—a letter or pair/trio of letters written separately or combined as a monogram “logo” or, less frequently, a symbol of some sort—appear on Corinthian and East Greek pots ca. 600 or slightly earlier and on Attic vessels not long afterward.¹¹⁷ Trademarks escalate on Athenian vases around the mid-sixth century, about the time that exports to Etruria themselves escalate. Indeed, they are predominantly found on pots from Etruscan sites, either in Etruria itself or areas of Etruscan interest like Campania.¹¹⁸ Verifying the importance of coastal cities (as hinted at by distribution data), nearly all trademark types are represented on pots found at Vulci, followed in numbers by Caere and Tarquinia. Although some marks were written in Attic script, the majority were not; it is often difficult to establish a writer’s origin from one or two letters, but the largest number seem to be written by Ionian Greeks, corresponding to their reputation as merchants and seafarers.¹¹⁹ Suggestive evidence also exists for Etruscan traders who transported vases, which, if correctly interpreted, grants further agency to the Etruscans in

figured pottery's distribution and very likely production as well.¹²⁰ Based on the retrograde script and/or letterforms, Alan Johnston's mark types 25A, 15C, and 8E have been proposed to be Etruscan.¹²¹ The retrograde and likely Etruscan foot graffito on a black-figure amphora that also carries Johnston's mark type 9E (AP) may contain the word for "ordered" plus numbers and fractions (CENV[Λ]IIC).¹²²

Most trademarks were applied after firing, whether as painted dipinti in added red or black or, more frequently, as incised graffiti. Because post-firing marks typically feature letterforms in scripts other than Attic (the presumed script of the workshops), it is assumed that traders wrote them in most if not all cases. Other trademarks were written in black glaze in Attic script, suggesting not only that workshop members wrote them before firing but that the vases were advance commissions.¹²³ Euphronios' Herakles and Antaios krater that went to Caere, for instance, carries Johnston's type 9E (AP) both as an apparent pre-fired mark in Attic script (an unligatured glaze dipinto) and as a post-firing incised graffito in ligatured form—the marks seemingly written by two different people, a member of the workshop and the trader.¹²⁴ Vladimir Stissi has suggested that trademarks were "ancient equivalents of what we write on cardboard boxes when moving house," with post-firing marks applied at the time of packing, possibly at the workshop, possibly at the port of Peiraeus or wherever cargo was being readied.¹²⁵ Trademarks and batch notations would have been useful onboard ship, especially one carrying cargo belonging to multiple traders, and when the trader who originally purchased the vases might not be traveling.¹²⁶ Stissi adds that "various assistants and middlemen may have been involved in the acquisition and distribution of batches of pottery, so that the marks were needed to facilitate communication between them."¹²⁷

Using Johnston's catalogues to examine the correlation between trademarks and workshops reveals no discernible pattern in many instances, implying that traders often acquired their products from multiple *kerameia*, maybe even in the same trip. In other cases, closer business arrangements can be posited, confirming the impression given by some distribution data. Developing sustained, interpersonal relationships of trust mutually benefited *emporoi* and *kerameia* by minimizing risk for both parties.¹²⁸ Trademarks strengthen the hypothesis, for example, that Nikosthenes *epoietes* had direct knowledge through traders of what Etruscan consumers desired and used that information to adapt Etruscan shapes in his workshop.¹²⁹ Seventeen Nikosthenic amphorae in Johnston's catalogue carry a variation of trademark type 3E (EP, ligatured, as post-firing dipinti), most signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*, and all with known provenience coming from Caere.¹³⁰ Three of the signed 3E Nikosthenic amphorae feature boxing scenes, which raises questions whether insider knowledge from traders also informed iconographic choices.¹³¹

A particularly active trader is represented by mark 21A, "ΣΟ" with a three-barred sigma, whom some scholars have equated with Sostratos, a successful Aeginetan trader described by Herodotos.¹³² Trader ΣΟ seems to have had close ties with communities like Vulci and Caere. Nine Nikosthenic amphorae, for instance, carry a version of this mark (type 21A_{vi} as "extremely faint graffiti"), of which seven have known provenience and went to Caere.¹³³ Seven vases by the Affecter, a potter-painter who worked primarily for the export market (discussed in chapter 6), carry type

21 Av, a “small and deeply incised” graffito.¹³⁴ Most intriguingly, pre-firing black ΣΟ dipinti appear on nine Perizoma Group vases, including six stamnoi (e.g., fig. 2.7).¹³⁵ As noted earlier, Perizoma Group painters may have possessed inside knowledge allowing them to tailor shapes and iconography for an Etruscan clientele; pre-firing glaze dipinti in apparent Attic script bolster this theory considerably through the implication of advance commissions.¹³⁶ All six Perizoma Group stamnoi with glaze ΣΟ dipinti feature athletes wearing loincloths and/or symposia with men and women reclining together, their most unique and most “Etruscan” scene types. Two of the six vases have Vulci as a known provenience, and based on their collecting histories, at least another two originally came from this site as well.

In addition to marks referring to traders, many exported Attic vases include graffiti that seem to be batch notations, in which the shape names of large pots, together with numerals, are listed alone or with a series of smaller vessel names and numbers.¹³⁷ An unprovenienced column krater by the Naples Painter (ca. 440) carries the graffito KO IIII, which almost certainly indicates a group of four “Corinthians,” a term still used for column kraters decades after Athenian workshops had appropriated the shape from Corinthian potters.¹³⁸ The graffito on an earlier and equally unprovenienced krater by the Orchard Painter (ca. 470–460) references a group of twenty-three “Corinthians”: NYKOΔΔIII.¹³⁹ If correctly deciphered, this is the largest notation for a single shape that currently survives, confirming the existence of batches for shipment as well as the popularity of column kraters suggested by distribution data. Current *BAPD* listings for the Orchard Painter include thirteen column kraters from the cemeteries of Spina, for instance, and another six from Bologna.¹⁴⁰ The krater with batch notation features a scene of erotic pursuit, with Hermes and Poseidon each chasing a woman across two sides of the vase. Nine vases attributed to the Orchard Painter in *BAPD* have pursuit scenes, including seven complete or fragmentary column kraters.¹⁴¹ It becomes easy to imagine traders providing information to Athenian workshops about local preferences, not only for shape but also for iconography.¹⁴²

A third category of inscriptions—numerals and abbreviations that seem to reference prices—has played an important role in discussions of the economic value of Attic figured pottery but may also speak to relationships between workshops and traders. Johnston’s 2006 catalogue lists fifty-seven prices on a series of pots, many found within batch notations and some including the word *timē*, or price, making their meaning clear.¹⁴³ Price inscriptions appear on a hodgepodge of shapes from a range of periods. Some pots are figured, some not; in some cases, the individual vases referenced in batch notations remain unidentified, and it is impossible to know whether they were figured. Because pots with known provenience were found outside Athens and yet some of the prices specify drachmai, the inscriptions are presumed to represent wholesale costs, meaning the price paid at the workshop by a trader rather than by a purchaser at the vase’s final destination.¹⁴⁴ Scholars have sought patterns among the prices on figured pottery, but none exist, except for a sense that larger vases cost more than smaller. Other characteristics have been proposed as influences on price—such as the number of figures on a vase or quality of draftsmanship—but if these did have an effect, it was not consistently applied.

In many ways the lack of pattern is the pattern. With distribution data and trademarks pointing to a series of networks among workshops and traders, we can imagine the cost of any vase on a given day being determined partly by supply and demand (as known to both parties) and partly by interpersonal relationships and interactions, including haggling.¹⁴⁵ Textual sources speak to haggling as well as the influence of supply and demand on the prices of goods. The fish market, for example, is portrayed as a stereotyped yet contentious realm for haggling in Athenian comedy.¹⁴⁶ The impact of competition is observed by Xenophon in his treatise *Poroi*: “If there are more coppersmiths . . . copperwork becomes cheap and the coppersmiths retire.”¹⁴⁷ Attic vases that depict commercial transactions support the idea of spirited negotiations. A seated oil-seller uses his fingers to propose a price to a customer on a black-figure pelike found at Caere, indicating an amphora with his other hand; the inscription “It’s full, it’s already spilling over” suggests that he is justifying the amount asked.¹⁴⁸ The pelike’s reverse may show the same oil-seller sitting under a tree with a colleague; here, the inscription “O father Zeus, would that I might get rich” leaves no doubt as to the yearning for *kerdos*.

Multiple factors would have informed the negotiation between *emporos* and potter, painter, or other workshop representative, all parties seeking to minimize risk and loss while maximizing possible profit. A vessel’s physical characteristics, especially size, surely entered into its proposed price, as did production costs—namely, materials and labor. The trader would think about packing, transport, and other expenses, such as harbor or import taxes, in determining what he was willing to pay. In terms of supply and demand, the workshop representative would be aware of the availability (or lack thereof) of similar vases at nearby establishments, influencing how high a price he might ask and how low a price he might accept. Recent scholarship on socially embedded markets has stressed the coexistence of cooperation and competition among sellers; undercutting neighboring *kerameia* would cause friction that served no one’s best interests.¹⁴⁹ Meanwhile, the trader’s knowledge about other workshops, and also about consumer demand where he intended to sell the vases, influenced his own haggling. Beyond considerations of supply and demand, any preexisting relationship no doubt had a profound effect. It benefited both parties to cultivate that relationship and sustain it for future transactions. Such a scenario embraces the ideals of *kharis* (reciprocity) and *xenia* (hospitality) that drove many aspects of Greek culture, while integrating the desire for *kerdos* inherent in market exchange.

A selection of vases with price inscriptions suggests how this process may have unfolded. Four bell kraters attributed to the Kadmos and Pothos Painters—artists discussed earlier in relation to the Thission workshop deposit—each carry batch notations with prices translating to four obols per krater.¹⁵⁰ All four are approximately the same height (30–32 cm), with two featuring post-kill sacrifice scenes (fig. 2.8), one a Dionysian scene, and the fourth the Birth of Helen, subjects that seem to have been workshop specialties, as noted previously. None has a known provenience, but their collecting histories place them somewhere in Italy, most likely Campania or Sicily, given their late fifth-century date, although southern Etruria cannot be excluded. At first glance, four obols seems cheap for a large vase. By comparison, a neck amphora attributed to the Kadmos

Painter carries an inscription for *spathai* (a term that seems to indicate neck amphorae) at a drachma apiece (six obols), while an unattributed column krater from slightly earlier (ca. 430) and featuring Oedipus and the Sphinx carries a ten-obol price.¹⁵¹ However, bell kraters were the most common shape produced in the Kerameikos at this time and the easiest to make, especially when using methods of serial production. A high supply of bell kraters produced by multiple workshops kept prices lower (compare Xenophon's observation above).¹⁵² The Peloponnesian War may have also depressed the prices *kerameia* were able to ask. In Aristophanes' *Peace*, produced in 421 at the time of the Peace of Nikias, a potter is happy because he can charge three drachmai per vase (as he could not during wartime), a price that may or may not be exaggerated (see below) but that far exceeds four obols.¹⁵³ Workshops would have attempted to maximize profit at times of cheaper prices by making more pots. A trader, meanwhile, could be confident when acquiring a batch of six bell kraters in a swoop (six being the number of *krateres* listed in each batch notation), thanks to high demand across the Mediterranean and the many trade routes in play. While we cannot know final prices at a given destination, he was likely able to mark up prices depending on local competition.

Vases with both price inscriptions and documented Etruscan provenience, which would be most helpful for this study, are rare. Three red-figure vases exported to Vulci in the early fifth century carry inscriptions with TI (*timē*, "price") and a number, together with the graffito ON. Johnston reads ON as an abbreviation meaning "for sale" and possibly an indication of vases being sold on the open market—in other words, displayed in the workshop for passing customers rather than ordered in advance for a negotiated price.¹⁵⁴ If this interpretation is correct, ON inscriptions imply a degree of confidence that workshops would be able to sell certain vases off the rack and a corresponding willingness to invest time, materials, and labor. By extension, this suggests that workshops held some degree of knowledge that certain types of vases were more likely to attract passing traders, information necessary to minimize risk.

The first ON TI Vulci vase is one of four known type A amphorae attributed to the Berlin Painter (h. 51.7 cm, fig. 2.9), all placed early in his career and dating ca. 500–490.¹⁵⁵ It features the type of monumental composition the Berlin Painter favored, with a single, unframed figure on each side: Dionysos on the obverse, satyr on the reverse, with Dionysos' backward gaze uniting the two around the pot. The inscription ON TI ΠΙ appears under the amphora's foot, presumably reading "for sale, price seven obols"—just over a drachma. This was not inexpensive, a drachma often being equated to an average Athenian's daily wage; it is possible, however, that the inscription represents the price before haggling and is somewhat inflated.¹⁵⁶ If ON does indicate that the Berlin Painter—or, perhaps more accurately, the potter who may have also been the workshop owner—offered this amphora on the open market, he had good reason to be confident of its eventual sale.¹⁵⁷ Not only was the Dionysian subject matter a sure thing, but Type A amphorae had been sent to Vulci and elsewhere in Etruria since the shape's apparent invention by Exekias, including examples by Pioneers thought to have been the Berlin Painter's teachers or at least workshop predecessors (e.g., figs. 2.1–2).¹⁵⁸

Fig. 2.9 Attic amphora
attributed to the Berlin Painter,
from Vulci. Ca. 500–490. Paris,
Musée du Louvre CA2981.
(Photo by Christian Larrieu,
© RMN–Grand Palais/Art
Resource, NY)



The other two ON TI vases from Vulci may have been found in the same tomb; Luciano Bonaparte's catalogue says that both were discovered in the Marrucheto *località* of his estate in March 1829.¹⁵⁹ They may also have been transported together, for along with their ON TI inscriptions, both carry Johnston's trademark type 17E (AE).¹⁶⁰ The vase with an inscribed price of five obols (ON TI Γ) remains unidentified today; described by Bonaparte as a "grand vase intact à deux anses" with a height of two and a half palms, it was likely a Type A, neck, or Panathenaic-shaped amphora similar in size to the previous vase. The obverse showed Athena holding a spear in one hand and a helmet in the other, her head adorned with "un riche diadème," while the reverse showed "un jeune augure en long manteau." This second figure was likely a draped youth, perhaps

with staff, for which Bonaparte consistently used the term “augure.” The single-figure compositions recall those of the Berlin Painter as seen in the Type A amphora above, especially since Athena was one of the painter’s favorite subjects.¹⁶¹ The goddess appears in a fashion similar to that described on the lost amphora on the obverses of a red-figure neck amphora with twisted handles and a red-figure Panathenaic-shaped amphora, both found at Vulci.¹⁶² The possibility that the lost vase belongs to the Berlin Painter is strengthened by a trio of letters (xi-delta-omega) under the foot, which can be found elsewhere on pots by him or his associates.¹⁶³

The possible companion to the lost amphora, a hydria of kalpis shape (h. 39.5 cm, fig. 2.10), features not only a price inscription for seven obols (ON TI ΠΙΙ) but what appears to be a batch notation for seventy-seven other unspecified and unidentified vases, the latter written by a different and presumably later hand.¹⁶⁴ Beazley placed the hydria with his Group of London E445, describing it as an “imitation of the Berlin Painter” and noting that “some details recall the Harrow Painter”; in her dissertation on the Berlin Painter and his associates, Carol Cardon advocates an attribution to the Harrow Painter.¹⁶⁵ The style and form of the hydria, along with the same xi-delta-omega trio that appears on vases belonging to the Berlin Painter, suggest that it could have come from the same workshop, the Harrow Painter’s pictorial style being related to the Berlin Painter’s. The scene depicts Peleus seizing the goddess Thetis by the waist to right and a fair-haired, fleeing Nereid to left: an abbreviated version of a subject that was long favored in Athenian iconography and that appeared on at least twenty-three black- and red-figure vases exported to Vulci.¹⁶⁶ Hydriai had a long history of export to Etruria by this time, especially to Vulci, meaning that the ON “off the rack” designation (if that was its intention) represented a fairly low risk to the workshop, as with the two previous vases. A trader headed for Etruria was likely to be interested. Indeed, trademark 17E (ΔΕ), which appears on the hydria—applied after the ON TI inscription and in a different hand—can be found on five earlier, black-figure hydriai that went to Vulci (including some by the prolific Leagros Group). If the same trader carried them all, then he possessed knowledge of local Vulcian demand that made his purchase particularly safe.

The fact that the Peleus/Thetis hydria cost the same seven obols as the Type A amphora (fig. 2.9), despite being 12 centimeters shorter, is possibly explained by its closed form, which made it more time-consuming to produce. It was much less expensive, however, than three hydriai with price inscriptions from the third quarter of the fifth century, all attributed to the Group of Polygnotos. Two of them (both 48 cm in height) carry inscriptions that suggest wholesale prices of three drachmai apiece (eighteen obols). One was found in a grave in Camarina (Sicily); the other lacks provenience but came from the Campana collection and might have an Etruscan findspot.¹⁶⁷ The third hydria (41 cm) similarly lacks provenience and carries an abbreviated inscription read by most commentators as “hydria two drachmai painted”—that is, costing twelve obols.¹⁶⁸ These high prices recall the joke in Aristophanes’ *Peace* about three-drachma vases (see above), but we cannot be certain they are standard, even for their own time.¹⁶⁹ The Polygnotan *kerameion* dominated production of hydriai and lacked substantial competition, and so they may have been able to ask for higher prices than workshops earlier in the century. Hydriai were also in demand both



Fig. 2.10 Attic hydria attributed to the Group of London E445, from Vulci. Ca. 480–470. Paris, Musée du Louvre G178. (Photo by Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY)

locally in Attica—red-figure examples are known, for instance, from Vari—and across the export market at this point. Caution is warranted in assuming anything further, such as Boardman’s claim that “a decent but not exceptional five-figure Attic vase of the mid-fifth century might cost as much as three drachmae. This must be but a fraction of the cost of the big multi-figure vases from the élite potteries.”¹⁷⁰ We cannot determine the top-end costs of figured vases in Athens, and we have no evidence for prices at their final destinations after export.

Value, in any case, is in the eye of the beholder and can mean something different from a consumer’s perspective than from the perspective of a trader or workshop.¹⁷¹ We may conclude the present discussion with an inscription from a now-lost vase that read, “Kephisophon’s kylix: if anyone breaks it he is to pay a fine of a drachma, since it is a gift from Xenylos.” Although the inscription says *kylix* in Greek, judging from a nineteenth-century drawing the vase was actually a black-glazed cup-skyphos of ca. 400, found near Athens and formerly in the collection of the antiquarian Louis-François Sebastien Fauvel.¹⁷² This inscription has been used by some scholars, including Boardman, to suggest that one drachma was the standard price of the stemmed cups that modern scholars term “kylikes.”¹⁷³ Although a figured kylix may have cost that much—six obols does not seem unreasonable—there is no inscriptional evidence to prove it, and this particular vase

tells us nothing along that line. Kephisophon's inscription is more significant for what it conveys about value. Based on a price inscription on a vase in Braunschweig, a black-glazed cup-skyphos may have cost around two-thirds of an obol wholesale—far less than a drachma.¹⁷⁴ The value of Kephisophon's cup came not from its economic worth but from its worth to its owner, in this case its status as a gift: it had intangible value, the kind that is most difficult for modern scholars to capture.

SHIPWRECKS WITH COMMERCIAL CARGO

Past discussions of Athenian figured pottery and its role in the ancient economy made much of its transport: the means and cost of transport, the value suggested by ship cargo, the weight and volume of different types of cargo (vases and otherwise), the proportion of pottery that would have been carried onboard ship, even where it would have been stowed. At stake was the question of whether the trade in Attic vases was profitable and valuable, and whether it formed a substantial part of the Athenian or larger Greek economy. David Gill, as well as Michael Vickers, argues that “in no way can ceramics have been commercially significant, still less constituted a ‘luxury trade’” and famously characterizes the role of Athenian pottery in ship cargo as ballast.¹⁷⁵ Challenging what he considers a “ceramo-centric view of trade and the ancient economy,”¹⁷⁶ Gill concludes in a 1991 article that “present archaeological evidence from shipwrecks would suggest that pottery was not a major component in maritime trade and it would seem to fulfill a role similar to that of Chinese porcelain in ships of the East India Companies.”¹⁷⁷ Gill does not deny that batches of pottery could be shipped but maintains that, based upon weights and volumes, they “could be carried as a minor component in a cargo.”¹⁷⁸

Boardman takes issue with Gill's and Vickers' comparison between silver and ceramics in ships' cargo. He argues, “If an ancient ship ever carried much silver it was probably its most *valuable* cargo, but not necessarily its most *profitable*; most of any ship's cargo most of the time, and for most ships all of the time, would have been other materials and commodities, and it is with these that the commercial value of decorated clay vases has to be compared.”¹⁷⁹ He further proposes that the effort required in packing, storing, unloading, and transporting ceramic vases over sea and land “should be enough to guarantee them a status better than ballast,” and continues: “It [the trade in Athenian vases] would never have been undertaken on the scale that it obviously was if there had not been a strong and guaranteed profit motive.”¹⁸⁰

The remains of actual shipwrecks and their cargoes offer insight into the mechanics of transporting vases, although, as with distribution data, one must acknowledge the (in this case) literal accidents of survival. Shipwrecks known at the time of Gill's and Boardman's articles did support the notion that ceramics occupied only a small part of a ship's cargo. Gill cites, for example, the Giglio shipwreck off the Tuscan coast (ca. 580), which included figured pottery from a variety of sources but no particular type in substantial quantities.¹⁸¹ Numerous transport amphorae (mostly Etruscan) originally carried products such as wine, olives, and olive oil, while raw materials

included lead and copper ingots. Preliminary reports mention 150 ceramic vessels and some fragments: Corinthian, Lakonian, Samian, East Greek, Etruscan, and others of unknown manufacture.¹⁸² Most were small in size, including lekythoi, aryballoi, and oinochoai. The diversity of Greek wares other than Attic is consistent with this early date, while the prevalence of small vessels reflects the brisk trade not only in those shapes but in the oils and perfumes they contained.¹⁸³ Other shipwrecks from the Archaic and Classical periods feature similar patterns: a larger ratio of transport amphorae to fineware, and an overall mixed cargo in which pottery played a subsidiary role.¹⁸⁴

A notable exception was excavated between 1987 and 1993, too late for Gill's and Boardman's original sequence of articles. Known as the Pointe Lequin 1A, this late sixth-century merchant vessel, likely Greek although perhaps Etruscan, was en route to the Greek city of Massalia (Marseille) when it foundered off the French coast.¹⁸⁵ Approximately five metric tons of cargo were recovered from relatively shallow water (3–8 m deep); the fragmentary ship's rudder suggests that the vessel could have carried as much as twenty tons when filled, but there is no surviving evidence as to what the lost cargo might have been. The cargo that does survive is distinguished from other western Mediterranean shipwrecks in the high proportion of pottery. About 94 percent of the recovered cargo was ceramic fineware, both figured and nonfigured, and mostly drinking cups. Approximately 5 percent comprised more than a hundred transport amphorae from various sources, over half East Greek, but at least ten from Athens.¹⁸⁶ The remaining 1 percent included ceramics in other shapes, lamps, bronzes, and terracotta statuettes. The approximately 2,000 pieces of reconstructed tableware included at least 1,500 so-called Ionian B2 cups, which scientific analysis suggests were produced in south Italy, and over 700 Athenian black-figure cups of assorted shapes: about 200 Type C cups with figural decoration in the tondo; over 200 Cassel cups; about 180 Type A eye cups; and some stemless cups and Little Master band cups (both with figural decoration and with floral bands alone).¹⁸⁷ Based primarily on the Athenian pottery but also on the transport amphorae, the Pointe Lequin 1A wreck has been dated ca. 520–500.

Even though it represents only one ship, the Pointe Lequin 1A has significant implications for our understanding of the trade in Athenian vases, at least as it operated in the western Mediterranean in the late sixth century.¹⁸⁸ First, its cargo proves that vases could be purchased in batches by traders and shipped together, sometimes large batches, as suggested by surviving batch notation inscriptions. Not all ships would have carried such a large proportion of pottery, let alone such a large proportion of figured ware, but this wreck demonstrates that it did happen and how: the bottom half of an Attic transport amphora still held three stacks of "Ionian" B2 cups inside, and the excavators suggested that others could have held 90–100 cups apiece.¹⁸⁹

Second, for a trader (or traders, if the cargo represented multiple *emporoi*) to invest in large numbers of one kind of vase—for example, Type A eye cups or Cassel cups as represented in the Pointe Lequin 1A cargo—he must have had knowledge of consumer demand in the place where the ship was headed. He would not have risked being burdened with unsold inventory.¹⁹⁰ The prominence of figured and nonfigured drinking cups on the Pointe Lequin 1A is consistent with a broader pattern in the western Mediterranean in which cups dominated exports; they were likely

meant for Greeks in Massalia as well as non-Greeks at indigenous sites in the Rhône Basin (or further west).¹⁹¹ Most non-Greek consumers do not seem to have used such cups at Greek-style symposia, given that kraters were not imported in substantial numbers; meshing with known distribution data on land, only three vases identified as kraters or lekanides are said to have been in the Pointe Lequin 1A cargo.¹⁹² The cups do, however, confirm the importance of wine consumption in the region, equally suggested by the presence of transport amphorae in the Pointe Lequin 1A and other wrecks off the coast.

As for the Athenian figured cups, given that Little Master and Type A cups were commonly exported and survive in fairly large numbers, their presence on the Pointe Lequin 1A is not unexpected (although the amount of Type A cups found in one place certainly is). More surprising is the number of Cassel cups, which have been discovered at various sites, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, but in smaller quantities than either Little Master or Type A kylikes.¹⁹³ One is reminded both of the potential of a single discovery to alter the “big picture” and the fact that although scholars tend to discuss the various forms of Athenian kylikes separately, their production overlapped. Stylistic chronologies have long suggested that workshops were producing Cassel, Little Master, Type A, and Type C cups contemporaneously, but the Pointe Lequin 1A confirms it. The diversity of forms in the cargo suggests that as part of a trader’s awareness of a particular demand, he sought variety in his offerings. Perhaps the swift development of new cup shapes and decoration during the mid- to late sixth century responded to the expanding export market as much as to demand in Athens itself.¹⁹⁴

Type A eye cups in the ship’s cargo highlight the role of the trader and bring the workshop strongly into the equation. Among the 144 such cups noted in the 1992 report, the bulk were preliminarily attributed to the Nikosthenic workshop and to the 520s.¹⁹⁵ Others are said to be from the group of so-called Courting Cups.¹⁹⁶ Although the figural decoration of many examples has abraded underwater, a variety of subjects representing the full breadth of Attic eye cups are featured: Dionysian, combat, mythological, and courting scenes.¹⁹⁷ No one scene type dominates the others, emphasizing consumers’ interest in the cup shape. However, the report does mention replicas, including at least six cups with Theseus and the Minotaur and the appearance of Herakles and the Lion “plusieurs fois.”¹⁹⁸ Given that the majority of the eye cups have been attributed to a single workshop, the Nikosthenic *kerameion* must have known—presumably through advance information—that large quantities should be produced. It seems unlikely that the workshop would happen to have 144 eye cups available when a trader came to call. As discussed earlier, both trademarks and distribution data for Nikosthenic pottery suggest particular ties between this workshop and the western trade and even particular *emporoi*.

Most importantly, the Pointe Lequin 1A wreck confirms that although pottery could and often did form the minority portion of a ship’s cargo, the reverse could also be true, at least in this period. Considering the quantity of Attic pottery shipped to Etruria alone, much more than was sent to Gaul, reliance exclusively on small-scale shipments was not possible. Opportunistic trade or tramping as a regular practice—meaning that traders arrived at a destination with goods and

took a chance on what local consumers might want—also seems unlikely. Tramping to debut goods at a community new to the trader would minimize risk, but once local demand was ascertained, tramping would have been both unnecessary and undesirable (cf. the description of Demaratos' activities above in this chapter).¹⁹⁹ The route traveled by the *Pointe Lequin 1A* ship would have been well established by the late sixth century. There were surely multiple stops along the way to exchange cargo, but this does not equate to tramping or random trade.²⁰⁰ The quantities of different items onboard the *Pointe Lequin 1A* imply the opposite: workshops and traders with sufficient knowledge of consumer demand to adequately and wisely stock the ship.

CONCLUSIONS

A biographical approach to Attic figured pottery begins at the workshop, reasserting the agency of potters and painters and using tools of stylistic analysis and attribution. The story cannot end there, nor does it stop with hypothetical Athenian viewers, often characterized as elite males attending symposia. This chapter advocates for the influential role of traders in the Athenian ceramic industry, especially during periods of the highest Etruscan export, when they seem to have provided critical information to Kerameikos craftsmen. Interconnections between workshops and traders can be discerned in the limited physical evidence offered by findspots and distribution data, workshop deposits, shipwreck remains, and—particularly revealing for individual vases and their journeys—mercantile inscriptions, especially trademarks that seem to designate individual *emporoi*.

If we return to the Pioneer vases with so-called potter portraits discussed at this chapter's outset and look under their feet, we find six with trademarks, more than half of those catalogued by Neer, though unmentioned in his discussion. Twenty total Pioneer vases carry trademarks in Johnston's 2006 catalogue; likely more did originally, but many vessels, including some important pieces by Euphronios, are missing their feet. Eleven different marks are represented among those twenty, which seems like a high number for a limited time period and what might be only one or two workshops. We can speculate that Pioneer vases were in demand because of their quality and novelty, so that a competitive atmosphere reigned in the buying and selling of their wares. Vases by Euthymides are the most numerous among the twenty; the "as never Euphronios" amphora (fig. 2.2) features trademark 31A, and another amphora that traveled to Caere carries type 9E/AP.²⁰¹ This latter mark, as noted earlier, is found as pre-firing dipinti in Attic script on Euphronios' Herakles and Antaios krater, which also went to Caere, suggesting an advance commission. The mark of trader AH (type 2F, in ligature) appears on six Pioneer vases, five with known Vulci provenience, including another amphora by Euthymides and three shoulder hydriai by Phintias (e.g., fig. 2.3).²⁰² Of the dozens of 2F/AH vases in Johnston's catalogue, nearly all are hydriai and amphorae—mostly in black figure, many by the Leagros Group—and nearly all with a known site come from Vulci. Did Phintias' three red-figure hydriai—archaizing in shape, no less—attract this trader who had a good sense of the Vulcian market? Would he have chuckled at the references to Euthymides on the hydria pictured here (fig. 2.3), given that he acquired Euthymides' vases too?

Two other 2F/ΛH hydriai are those noted earlier with inscriptions reading *Khairē Euthymides* and *Khairēto Euthymides*; it begins to seem as if the repetition is not a coincidence.²⁰³ Even Euphronios' Arezzo krater (fig. 1.1) carries a type 8E trademark, revealed in recent conservation, which also appears on a hydria of kalpis shape by—guess who?—Euthymides.²⁰⁴

This entanglement of trademarks becomes hard to ignore and, I believe, supports the idea ventured at the beginning of this chapter that potter portraits and their accompanying inscriptions may have been intended for the eyes and merriment of traders as much as fellow craftsmen or other possible audiences. Potter-painter signatures on Attic vases in general have been much discussed, including whether they were added as expressions of artistic pride or for commercial reasons: that is, to appeal to a certain market.²⁰⁵ Seth Pevnick notes that painters “used [signatures] at times for the invention and propagation of artistic identities,” pointing to the apparent dual identity of one vase painter—a resident immigrant who alternately signed as Syriskos (“little Syrian”) and Pistoxenos (“trustworthy foreigner”)—as an example.²⁰⁶ Sarah Bolmarcich and Georgina Muskett emphasize how many surviving signed vases were found in Etruria; their database includes 359 signed vases from Etruria, with 179 of those discovered in Vulci and 78 in Caere.²⁰⁷ A high proportion were products of the Nikosthenic workshop, as noted above, the signatures serving as a brand for Nikosthenes *epoietes* (figs. 2.4, 2.6). Many scholars, including Bolmarcich and Muskett, suggest that artists' signatures (and other Greek inscriptions) enhanced the appeal of vases for Etruscan consumers; although I do not think the vases' Greekness was always the primary attraction (see chapter 7), this may well be true.²⁰⁸ Before exported vases traveled to Etruria, though, traders handled them first. Most if not all of the traders could read Greek, and they, as much as anyone, may be the audience that explains the presence of signatures (when they appear) and other inscriptions. This proposal does not remove the possibility of painters being inspired by sympotic verse in their crafting of inscriptions, devising clever word games that would be at home on such occasions, or incorporating sympotic influences in other ways. It does, however, challenge the assumption that Athenian elite symposiasts were always the ones meant to see such things.

The evidence discussed in this chapter yields a complex picture of the ceramic industry in the sixth and fifth centuries and of trade to Etruria specifically. Critics rightly point out the difficulties of relying on statistics when there are so many holes in the data, but several hypotheses offered by one type of evidence are supported by another. The trade in Athenian figured pottery was neither random nor opportunistic from the point of view of either workshops or traders, both of whom had many strategies for addressing consumer demand and earning profit, with profit definitely being a goal. *Kerameia* and *emporoi* possessed a great deal of agency when it came to production, transport, and sale; their activities in turn were informed by consumer demand, consumers being the third group whose agency cannot be underestimated. The next chapter considers how the customs and worldview of Etruscan consumers fed their taste for Athenian vases and, by extension, the pottery trade itself.

Context, Consumption, and Attic Vases in Etruria

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCED THE DUAL MEANINGS OF “CONSUMPTION”: both the purchase or other acquisition of objects as economic commodities and the use and integration of objects into local material culture by individuals or communities. In much past scholarship, the Etruscans were characterized as eager yet passive recipients of Greek goods, customs, and ideas in a unidirectional acculturation paradigm that amounted to artistic hellenization; thus, John Boardman describes a “rich but artistically immature and impoverished people” who were “ready and receptive for anything exotic” and “accepted all they were offered, without discrimination.”¹ To embrace more recent models of cross-cultural consumption is to recognize an agency and intentionality among Etruscan buyers of Attic figured pottery and other imports that complemented those of workshops and traders and, indeed, impacted these groups through acts of choice and rejection.² A consumption-centered approach to Athenian vases in Etruria further requires moving beyond the statistics offered by distribution data, which alert us to meaningful patterns, to ask *why* Etruscans of various communities wanted these vases and what they may have signified in local settings.³ For scholars steeped in Hellenism, the Greekness of imported pottery and the supposed status that came with it provide the best explanation. However, examination of documented archaeological contexts (when available) and other sources of evidence suggests a more complex process of “creative appropriation, transformation, and manipulation” (as Michael Dietler describes cross-cultural consumption) that may or may not have involved Greekness at all.⁴

The “other sources of evidence” unfortunately do not include texts by the Etruscans themselves about foreign goods or most other subjects. Historiographically, this has rendered them vulnerable not only to the biases of survival but to the prejudices of their ancient neighbors, the

Greeks and Romans, whose writings include assertions that—consciously or otherwise—have influenced modern views of Etruscan taste. Boardman’s characterization of Etruscans as “rich” and “ready and receptive for anything exotic,” for instance, echoes ancient descriptions of Etruscan wealth and love of luxury (*tryphe* in Greek, *luxuria* in Latin), as does Robin Osborne’s consistent usage of “voracious” and “omnivorous” to describe their “appetite for attractive pottery, whether or not the scene meant anything to them.”⁵ A first-century BCE passage by Diodorus Siculus (itself preserving a description by Posidonios) serves as an oft-quoted example: “Twice each day, they [Etruscans] spread costly tables and upon them everything that is appropriate to excessive luxury, providing brightly colored couches and having ready at hand a multitude of silver drinking cups of every description and servants in waiting in no small number . . . they have now renounced the spirit which was emulated by their forebears from ancient times, and passing their lives as they do in drinking bouts and manly amusement, it is easily understood how they have lost the glory in warfare which their fathers possessed.”⁶ Interestingly, this particular stereotype has been deployed for opposing purposes. Advocates for the costliness of Attic vases (like Boardman) have used it to argue for the expense of Athenian figured pottery—that is, vases must have been considered valuable for the Etruscans to covet them. David Gill and Michael Vickers, in contrast, have argued that because the Etruscans had expensive metal vessels for their banquets (according to sources like Diodorus Siculus), and because they would not have wanted to abandon such items to the tomb, pottery must have provided a convenient and cheap replacement.⁷

Using passages like the one from Diodorus Siculus in such noncritical ways neglects the ancient authors’ agendas. A literary *topos* among both Greek and Roman writers was to contrast what they perceived as their own upstanding, moral society with the decadence of the Etruscan Other.⁸ Another well-known example appears in Athenaios’ early third-century CE *Deipnosophistae* as a preserved fragment of fourth-century BCE writings by Theopompus of Chios.⁹ The rumored licentiousness of the Tyrrhenians (the Greek name for the Etruscans) is on full and scandalous display as a typical banquet is portrayed as an orgy in which participants indulged in prostitutes, beautiful boys, married women, and young men in their prime, all in view of one another and without shame. The passage also remarks upon Etruscan women, Theopompus attributing to them incredible beauty but also a masculine love of exercise and unbridled lust. “They do not dine next to their own husbands,” he claims, “but they take their seats at random and they drink to the health of whomever they wish.”¹⁰

Did Athenian vase painters of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE share these views of their customers across the sea, and did those stereotypes influence the imagery of the pots they made? When Phintias decorated his hydria with bare-breasted female symposiasts dedicating a *kottabos*-toast to Euthymides (fig. 2.3)—a hydria whose trademark under the foot suggests that it was made for export—did he assume that an Etruscan buyer would welcome such a scene as illustrative of his (or her) own experiences? While we cannot be sure of painters’ motivations or how far back the stereotypes go, the fact remains that despite being frequently discussed in light of the Athenian symposium, the majority of Attic vases with erotic images come from Etruscan contexts, especially

tombs.¹¹ Many derive from *kerameia* whose products were largely exported, like those of Phintias or the Briseis Painter (fig. 3.1, mentioned in chapter 2 as belonging to the Brygan workshop), suggesting a level of knowledge about Etruscan demand for these subjects.¹² This kylix, with its scene of heterosexual intercourse, was found in a tomb at Tarquinia, while a similar example by the same painter came from Caere.¹³ Two cups with lovemaking scenes by the Triptolemos Painter, who also belonged to the Brygan workshop, were likewise discovered at Tarquinia.¹⁴ Some of the earliest erotic images on Attic vases can be found on over a dozen amphorae of the Tyrrhenian Group, discussed in chapter 2 as the most persuasive example of a workshop targeting the Etruscan export market. These include hetero- and homosexual courtings and couplings (in one instance, Athenian norms are reversed and a youth penetrates an older man), as well as the occasional masturbating satyr.¹⁵



Fig. 3.1 Attic kylix attributed to the Briseis Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 480–460. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

How Etruscan consumers interpreted this imagery and incorporated these vases into their material culture is a separate question, one that acknowledges the possibility of localized meanings different from those intended by Athenian painters or understood by Athenian audiences. Unfortunately, nearly all imported vases with explicit sexual or other erotic content lack a documented findspot. One of the Tyrrhenian Group amphorae with masturbating satyr, attributed to the Prometheus Painter, was found with a second amphora by the same artist in Tomb 207 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at Caere.¹⁶ A red-figure cup by the Foundry Painter (yet another associate of the Brygos Painter), on which a young man brandishes a sandal and pulls the hair of a pleading nude woman, was found in Tomb 244c of the same necropolis where it formed part of a typically Caeretan assemblage, including an Attic black-figure amphora inscribed with the feminine form of an Etruscan family name.¹⁷ In both these instances, the erotic scenes join images of warriors, Dionysos and his *thiasos*, Herakles, and others, on the same vase or elsewhere in each assemblage.

We can compare erotic images of Etruscan production that appear in funerary environments, as for instance the Tomb of the Bulls (Tomba dei Tori) at Tarquinia (ca. 530 BCE, figs. 3.2–3), where a pair of sexual couplings high on the back wall (a heterosexual one with a threesome on the left, a homosexual one on the right) recall scenes on imported pottery but pre-date many of them.¹⁸ A scene of erotic violence comparable in mood to the Foundry Painter's Caere cup appears on the right wall of the Tomb of the Whipping (Tomba della Fustigazione) at Tarquinia, where two men, nude save for a wreath on one's head and tutulus on the other's, whip a woman beside a painted false door; on the door's opposite side appears an erotic group with another pair of nude men.¹⁹ Such images have been proposed as *apotropaia* or as affirmations of life in the face of death, with the placement of scenes around the liminal spaces of actual or pictorial doorways being particularly suggestive.²⁰ The eponymous scene in the Tomb of the Whipping has been suggested as connected to Dionysian themes or even fertility, given the resemblance to later Roman fertility rituals.²¹ Other depictions are more evocative of married love and subtexts of family and fertility therein, such as the stone sarcophagus of Larth Tetnies and Thanchvil Tarnai from Vulci (ca. 300), where a couple, nude save for their jewelry, embrace under a blanket on its lid.²² This interpretation may explain the pair of heterosexual matings on an Etrusco-Corinthian oinochoe found at Tragliatella outside Caere (ca. 700), juxtaposed with horsemen and a female figure.²³ Perhaps the couples on the Briseis Painter's (fig. 3.1) and Triptolemos Painter's cups would have been understood as married and akin to that Etruscan visual tradition.

Scenes of violence in Attic imported pottery and Etruscan art represent another instance where ancient and modern biases must be confronted in discussions of consumption.²⁴ On a Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Timiades Painter, the Trojan princess Polyxena meets her death at the hands of Achilles' son, Neoptolemos (fig. 3.4).²⁵ Spotty ancient sources say Achilles' own ghost demanded the sacrifice and that it took place at his tomb. Here, three soldiers (including Ajax the Lesser) hold Polyxena aloft as Neoptolemos plunges a sword into her neck and her blood cascades onto what is likely meant to be Achilles' tumulus, topped with an altar whose flames leap in response.²⁶ The composition recalls animal sacrifices made before battle but is unusual, within



Fig. 3.2 Left half of the back wall of the Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia. Ca. 530. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Corneto.T.Tori 24119)



Fig. 3.3 Right half of the back wall of the Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia. Ca. 530. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Corneto.T.Tori 24118)

both sacrifice and Trojan War iconography, for its graphic portrayal. When Attic painters allude to Polyxena's death elsewhere, they do so obliquely, with dropped hydriai in representations of Achilles' pursuit of the princess and her brother Troilos serving, for instance, as prefigurations of her fate.²⁷ Even in sacrifice scenes, the moment of killing an animal is typically eschewed in favor of the moments before and after.²⁸ In this scene, as if to acknowledge the simultaneous piety and horror of the act, the spectators (named by inscription) have opposing reactions: Nestor at left watches intently, but Phoinix at right turns away.²⁹

Because of their apparently targeted production and export, this amphora and other allegedly violent images attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group have often been viewed as indices of Etruscan taste. Nigel Spivey, who describes Tyrrhenian amphorae as a "cynically commercial exercise," uses the Polyxena amphora—unprovenanced but almost certainly from southern Etruria—as a "sedulously sensational" instance of the Group's "specialising in gaudy violence and sexual excess," adding that the Etruscan viewer "is supposed to be impressed by the explicitness of the scene, and presumably also by the names labelling the protagonists."³⁰ Osborne likewise notes that Tyrrhenian



Fig. 3.4 Attic so-called Tyrrhenian amphora, attributed to the Timiades Painter. Ca. 560. London, British Museum 1897.7–27.2. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/ Art Resource, NY)

amphorae “specifically aimed at the Etruscan market . . . are distinct not just in shape but in imagery, being given to scenes of explicit sex and violence.”³¹ In her study of the Trojan cycle, Margit von Mehren concludes that “Tyrrhenian amphorae only show a select choice of these events with their emphasis on blood, murder, human sacrifice and the *causa bellis*. . . the Tyrrhenian iconography of the Trojan cycle conveys almost nothing but feelings of horror and fear.”³²

The assumption that Etruscan viewers preferred violent iconography, and that this is why Tyrrhenian Group painters depicted scenes like Polyxena’s sacrifice, is problematic in two respects. First, despite the claims above, the Polyxena scene and other graphically bloody subjects are anomalies within the Tyrrhenian Group’s repertoire. In his 2003 monograph, Jeroen Kluiver argues that “the contention that, generally, ‘Tyrrhenian’ subject matter is exceptionally harsh and cruel is not supported by the facts,” observing that the Polyxena scene, two scenes of Achilles fighting Hektor over Troilos’ beheaded corpse, and one of the murder of Eriphyle represent four instances of such violence out of 488 vases.³³ Other scenes of combat, he notes—including Amazonomachies like

that by the Timiades Painter (fig. 2.5)—are no different from examples by other Attic painters.³⁴ It seems likely that Tyrrhenian Group painters highlighted the violence in certain stories to emphasize horrific deeds; thus the murder of Polyxena becomes a visual perversion of animal sacrifice.³⁵ The fact that other painters opted not to show this moment, even within the Tyrrhenian Group, suggests that it may have been felt to be a step too far by traders, consumers purchasing the vases, the artists themselves, or some combination of the above.

Second, to assume that Etruscan taste inclined toward violence based on the iconography of imported vases or Etruscan art itself echoes (consciously or otherwise) the biases of Greek and Roman authors who, as part of an overall tendency to portray Etruscans as Other, characterized them as a bloodthirsty people.³⁶ “Violent” imagery in Etruscan art—violence, like eroticism, ultimately lying in the eye of the beholder—promoted messages in domestic, sanctuary, and funerary settings that were consonant with local belief and hardly gratuitous.³⁷ When mythological in content, as is frequently the case, these scenes further showcase the creative appropriation of Greek myth, a knowledge of the stories deep enough to foster selectivity and transformation.³⁸ The terracotta pedimental decoration of Temple A at Pyrgi (ca. 470–460) serves as an ideal example, where the story of the Seven Against Thebes, rare in Greek art, is displayed in a powerful yet graphic way.³⁹ Tinia (Zeus) prepares to hurl lightning at the arrogant Kapaneus, and Menerva (Athena) stares as Tydeus prepares to feast on the brain of his still-living enemy, Melanippos. In a recent article, Alexandra Carpino asserts that one must consider such imagery in context; high on a temple for passersby to ponder, the myth becomes a cautionary tale of hubris, impiety, and divine punishment.⁴⁰

The depiction of Achle (Achilles) and the ambush of Truile (Troilos) in sixth-century Etruria likewise epitomizes the purposeful appropriation of Greek myth. So-called Pontic and other black-figure vases and, most famously, the Tomb of the Bulls (figs. 3.2–3, 3.5) present iconographic elements and emphases often different from contemporary Greek art, including Corinthian, Lakonian, and Athenian vases imported into the region.⁴¹ In the center of the tomb’s back wall, Achle waits behind the fountainhouse for the oblivious Truile on horseback. Truile’s vulnerable nudity, the way he dominates the composition, and the fact that he approaches from the right (the direction of Etruscan writing) may have been intended to arouse the viewer’s sympathies while highlighting the theme of premature death.⁴² Achle grasps a *machaira* (curved ritual knife) instead of a sword, lending the scene a sacrificial dimension absent from the majority of Greek depictions but present in most Etruscan examples. To the same end, the paintings in the Tomb of the Bulls and other Etruscan images commonly meld the fountainhouse space with the sanctuary of Aplu (Apollo), where the killing takes place. Here, the fountain with its uniquely Etruscan mouldings resembles an altar, while the stylized palm tree and what appear to be laurel trees evoke the god. These details make it clear that Etruscan artists and consumers understood Achle’s act to be one of willful impiety that held tremendous ramifications for the Trojan War and instigated his own demise.⁴³ The chthonic associations of Aplu in Etruria, especially his apparent identification with the god Šuri (see below), may have a bearing on this understanding of the myth and its inclusion in funerary art.⁴⁴

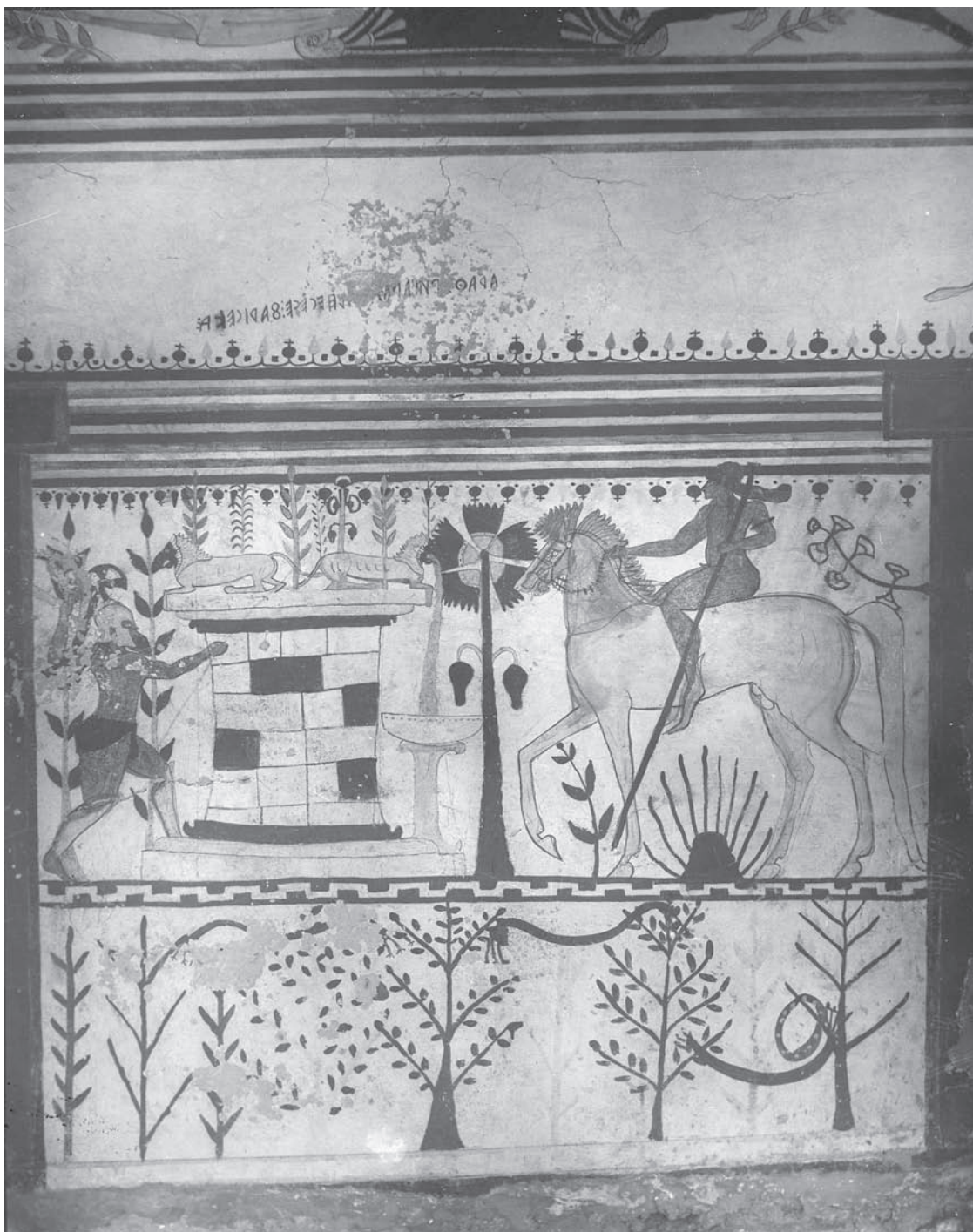


Fig. 3.5 Detail of Achle and Truile scene, Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia. Ca. 530. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Corneto.T.Tori 24122)

Other aspects of Etruscan funerary belief may lie behind allusions to human sacrifice in Etruscan art. Later Roman sources describe a practice in which the Etruscans offered “certain animals to certain divinities” in the hope that through the blood offering, souls of the deceased could be transformed and achieve immortality.⁴⁵ These texts may not be wholly reliable because of their late date and Roman authorship, but archaeological evidence attests to the importance of funerary sacrifice and ancestor cult in earlier periods, and even belief in the heroized dead.⁴⁶ The tomb itself could serve as an altar, as suggested by ramps and stairways attached to tumuli at Caere, Cortona, Tarquinia, and Pisa as early as the seventh century.⁴⁷ Atop a tumulus at Pisa were found a (perhaps deliberately) broken stone slab, four iron spits, and a large bronze knife. An early sixth-century monumental altar abutting Sodo Tumulus II near Cortona features stone reliefs of combat between warriors and lions (or lionesses), the warrior driving a knife into the beast even as s/he begins to devour him. These and other images related to combat, death, and bloody sport in Etruscan funerary art have been read as symbolically recalling sacrifice and even serving as substitute sacrifices, whose fictive blood can reanimate the deceased and aid their passage to the afterworld.⁴⁸ Whether the Etruscans actually engaged in human sacrifice, or whether reports of these rituals by Greek and Roman writers are another instance of bias, has been a matter of debate.⁴⁹ Archaeological evidence suggests that human sacrifice happened at times, at least at an early period. A cavity in the earth at the Pian di Civita of Tarquinia, part of the ancient city, contained the remains of adults and children, some of whom seem to have been purposely killed, perhaps to propitiate a deity.⁵⁰ The cultural memory of these practices may have lingered in some funerary imagery: for example, in the fourth-century François Tomb at Vulci, where Achle slaughters Trojan prisoners at the tomb of Patrukles (Patroklos) in the presence of the latter’s *hinthial* (soul or spirit) and the Etruscan “demons” Charu(n) and Vanth.⁵¹ The inclusion of Charu and Vanth, who presumably will escort Patrukles’ *hinthial* to the afterworld after the ritual, casts the scene in a local light. The subject itself, although mentioned in the *Iliad*, is rare in Greek art and demonstrates once more the creative responses of Etruscan artists to Greek myth.

The centrality of the Achle and Truile myth within the Tomb of the Bulls (figs. 3.2–3, 3.5) needs to be viewed within the broader context of the tomb as a liminal space—a site of passage where the *hinthial* of the deceased transitioned from this world to the next—and in concert with the tomb’s other imagery.⁵² In some Tarquinian chamber tombs, the belief in passage was literalized in the form of a false door on the back and/or side walls through which the *hinthial* could travel, as noted above for the Tomb of the Whipping.⁵³ In the Tomb of the Bulls, the *hinthial* of the tomb’s primary occupant, Arath Spurianus (whose name appears above the Achle/Truile scene), and those of his family were given not only this image but an array of others that carried powerful significance, including heraldic and hybrid animals (a sphinx and a charging human-headed bull, possibly the river god Achlae/Acheloös), Bellerophon fighting the Chimaera, and the pair of erotic couplings discussed earlier. Like these latter, the battle with the Chimaera and the depiction of other hybrid creatures may be apotropaic in intent—meant to protect the tomb, the *hinthial*, and the living, whose arrival at the necropolis brought them to the perilous edge of the afterworld—but they

may also be evocative of sacrifice.⁵⁴ The hippocamp rider in the pediment of the entrance wall and the hippocamps in the side chambers suggest both liminality and the voyage to the afterworld.⁵⁵

An *interpretatio etrusca* of imported Athenian and other Greek pottery deposited in Etruscan tombs and sanctuaries encourages localized readings pertinent to local belief. With its “violent” scene of Odysseus’ massacre of the suitors, the Attic phiale displayed in the Southern Sanctuary at Pyrgi (fig. 1.5) broadcast messages of hubris and punishment as potent as those of the pediment of nearby Temple A. The Etruscans’ familiarity with Greek myth and their predilection for complex narrative, as already seen in seventh-century objects like the ivory pyxis from the Pania necropolis of Chiusi and the San Paolo bucchero olpe from Caere, ensured that imported vessels like the so-called François Vase (fig. 3.6)—where the ambush of Troilos is but one scene in a web of images and associations—were not only well received but seen as functioning actively within their new environment.⁵⁶ So too the rarer and more graphic scenes of Achilles and Troilos in Attic vase painting, including the two Tyrrhenian amphorae noted above (exported to Vulci and Pescia Romana) and a red-figure kylix signed *Euphronios epoiesen* and found at Vulci, whose exterior shows Achilles dragging Troilos toward Apollo’s altar and whose interior reveals the murder itself.⁵⁷ Like the paintings of the Tomb of the Bulls and other Etruscan depictions, these three vases highlight Achilles’ conscious act of impiety; one of the Tyrrhenian amphorae even includes the inscription *bomos* (“altar”) beside the structure where Troilos’ body lies. All three lack a known findspot, but within their original tomb contexts, their message relative to the deceased would have been clearer.



Fig. 3.6 Attic volute krater signed by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter (“François Vase”), Fonte Rotella necropolis, Chiusi. Ca. 570–560. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

As will be seen in case studies later in this volume, when multiple figured vases were juxtaposed in an assemblage, their imagery could work together.

The possible intonations of the Polyxena amphora (fig. 3.4) for its (likely) Etruscan owner or owners are difficult to discern, given not only its own lack of archaeological context but the rarity of Polyxena's death in Etruscan iconography. Etruscan awareness of her story, even at this early date, is suggested by an Etrusco-Corinthian column krater from Caere (ca. 590–570), on whose main frieze a man carries a partly missing but clearly resisting female figure up a stepped altar resembling a tomb.⁵⁸ A second female figure and a youth on horseback, whose identities cannot be confirmed, follow behind. The idea that the scene not only shows Polyxena but is intended as a visual perversion of animal sacrifice is supported by the correctly performed sacrifice on the vase's shoulder, where a priest leads a bull to a stepped altar. Another curious image that may represent Polyxena and is contemporary with the Timiades Painter's amphora appears on a ceremonial parade chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto (ca. 560–550), whose three bronze panels have been interpreted as showing scenes of Achille: his reception of arms from Thetis (Thetis), his combat with, probably, Memnun (Memnon), and his apotheosis by winged chariot.⁵⁹ In this last panel, the chariot prepares to soar over a fallen female figure identified by some scholars as Polyxena, the scene implying that her death enabled Achille's ascent.⁶⁰ Ancient repairs suggest that the chariot was used in life before being placed in the tomb, perhaps to celebrate the male owner's return from war; in both settings, the chariot's iconography celebrated Achille in a way that flattered its owner while providing aspirational imagery.⁶¹ If the Attic Polyxena amphora was placed inside the tomb of a male deceased rather than a female one, then perhaps its imagery too was linked to the apotheosis of Achilles/Achille and, by extension, that of the dead.⁶² Or was Polyxena perceived as a heroine for her resistance and loyalty to her family, and the Greeks as the villains?⁶³ Either way, perhaps the problematic nature of the Polyxena myth, with the death of an innocent young girl, guaranteed its rarity in Etruscan art as much as in Greek. In contrast, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia appears on late Etruscan cinerary urns for both males and females because the Etruscans favored the version of the story in which Iphigeneia was rescued by Artemis and swapped for a deer.⁶⁴ Polyxena received no such salvation.

The mobility of Attic figured vases and the malleability of their subject matter positioned them well for relocation into Etruscan funerary settings, where—often combined with other meaningful objects—they continued to participate in networks of consumption among the *hinhials* of the deceased, the ancestors, and an extensive contingent of eschatological deities and spirits. One could argue that while the deceased and the living who mourned them underwent rites of passage, so did all the grave goods that likewise joined the process. Whether or not Attic vases and other objects experienced any physical alteration (such as inscriptions, discussed in the next section), their change in location precipitated invisible shifts or augmentation of meaning.⁶⁵ The remainder of this chapter considers the role(s) and meaning(s) of Athenian figured pottery within the liminal space of tombs, which were not the sole sites of consumption for this ware in Etruria but remain the most prevalent and best documented.

LIMINALITY, PERFORMATIVITY, AND ATTIC VASES IN ETRUSCAN TOMBS

An Attic bilingual eye cup attributed to Olto (fig. 3.7), 31.5 centimeters in diameter, features decoration consistent with kylikes of that type and by Olto in particular: an acontist and discus thrower on each side of the red-figure exterior between the eyes, a black-figure Scythian archer running in the tondo.⁶⁶ Under the cup's foot appears an Etruscan proprietary inscription in large letters and genitive case—"of Charu"—referring not to the deceased in whose tomb it was found but to one of many so-called demons who guided the dead to the afterworld. Related to the Greek Charon but an example of Etruscan appropriation and syncretism with their own deities, Charu (or Charun) appears in later tomb paintings and sarcophagi (including the François Tomb noted above) as a ferocious creature of terrifying visage who wields keys and often brandishes a hammer.⁶⁷ Winning his favor assured protection for the deceased's passage and for the tomb itself, and the eye cup appears to be an offering for that purpose. The inscription renders the cup Charu's own possession; its watchful eyes may have been felt appropriate for a guardian figure, while the archer and athletes recalled the deceased's status and perhaps funerary games. Although it is possibly from Caere (because of its history in the Campana collection), the letterforms may indicate that the kylix came from Vulci, where, as will be seen in the next chapter, eye cups were especially popular.⁶⁸ As with the Ilioupersis cup offered to Hercle and discussed in chapter 1 (figs. 1.3–4), this cup was etruscanized with the addition of text. Like the space of the sanctuary, the space of the tomb was both sacred and liminal, a transitional and permeable boundary that deities as well as the dead might cross.

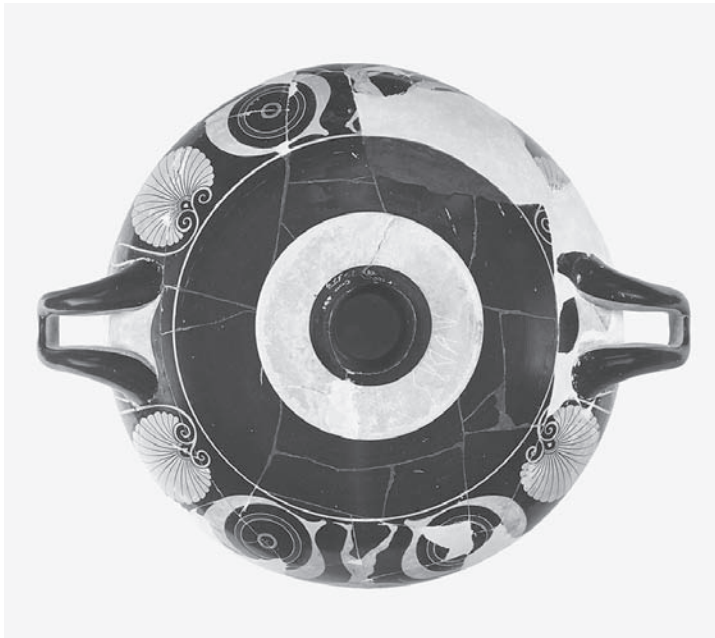


Fig. 3.7 Attic bilingual eye cup with Etruscan inscription, attributed to Olto as painter. Ca. 520. Paris, Musée du Louvre F126. (Photo by Stéphane Maréchalle, © RMN-Grand Palais/ Art Resource, NY)

Within the tomb setting and as part of a mortuary assemblage, vessels of all kinds—local or imported, metal or ceramic—could carry many associations. The most common was in relation to the banquet, in which the *hinhials* of any and all deceased in the tomb, their ancestors, and even the gods themselves were thought to take part. In the fourth-century Golini Tomb I of Orvieto, the deceased Vel Latithes holds a kylix as he reclines with another family member, Arnth Leinies, and feasts not only with deceased ancestors but with Aita (Hades) and Phersipnei (Persephone).⁶⁹ The paintings of the Tomb of the Blue Demons (Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri) at Tarquinia (ca. 440–430), discovered in 1985, portray the parallel journeys of a deceased couple to a similar occasion.⁷⁰ On the right-hand wall, the wife approaches the waiting boat of the ferryman of death—a figure like the Greek Charon who may be another manifestation of Charu—having already been guided past fearsome demons with the help of demons of a friendlier sort. Another woman and a child wait in front of the boat, already deceased family members perhaps, planning to join her or see her safely along. On the left-hand wall, her husband mounts a parade chariot, his triumphal progress accompanied by musicians and dancers. A sideboard filled with vases, known in modern scholarship as a *kylikeion*, marks the man's destination and the spatial beginning of the final scene, which stretches across the rear of the chamber: a banquet in a grove of trees, with the couple's family on dining couches.⁷¹ Although damaged like the rest of the frescoes, the *kylikeion* appears to contain amphorae, a calyx krater (perhaps with figural decoration), and what may be a dinos on a stand.

Banqueting men and women appeared in Etruscan funerary iconography in various communities and media over time, reflecting the status and commensality of such occasions in life as well as the practice of the funerary feast and the belief that such revels continued in the afterworld. Early in Etruscan history and art, banqueting was a seated affair; although the Etruscans later adopted elements of Near Eastern feasting and Greek symposia, they copied neither group but followed a process of selective appropriation.⁷² Scholars long assumed that reclining was not introduced until the early sixth century via Ionian Greek immigrants, with the terracotta plaques of Murlo (Poggio Civitate, ca. 570) heralded as one of the first Etruscan representations of this practice.⁷³ However, the 1996 discovery of Tomb 23 at Tolle near Chiusi (ca. 630–620) has changed the picture. An impasto urn employed for a cremation burial inside the tomb carries the fragmentary figure of a reclining male on its lid; although as preserved he holds no drinking vessel, he reclines on his left side in the customary position.⁷⁴ Based on this find and the redating of Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls that show reclining banqueters, it is now thought that Phoenicians introduced reclining into Etruria, perhaps around the mid-seventh century.⁷⁵ Phoenicians may have also brought the practice into mainland Greece: one of the earliest known Greek images of reclining banqueters appears on the Corinthian “Eurytos krater,” dated ca. 600 and exported to Caere.⁷⁶ Images produced in Etruria—like the banquet on the Murlo plaques and any number of tomb paintings, sarcophagi, and ash urns from around the region—often diverge from Near Eastern and Greek artistic precedents by showing women reclining together with men.⁷⁷ Etruscan banqueting images also often include food, which seems to have been the custom in earlier Etruscan feasts and which departs from the strict definition of a Greek symposion, which followed a meal. Differences between

Etruscan banquets and Greek symposia render the terms “symposion” and “sympotic” problematic in Etruscan contexts, so they will be avoided here.⁷⁸

Painted *kylikeia* in banqueting scenes like those in the Tomb of the Blue Demons, Tomb of the Painted Vases (Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti, ca. 500, fig. 3.8), and Tomb of the Ship (Tomba della Nave, ca. 450, fig. 3.9) have often been interpreted as pictorial celebrations of conspicuous consumption, echoing the narrative *topos* of Etruscan luxury offered by some Greek and Roman authors and discussed earlier in this chapter.⁷⁹ Painted *kylikeia* may indeed allude to the tomb owner’s wealth and status and/or aspirations of abundance in the afterworld, but they also affirm the performative role of vases within a mortuary context. When the tombs were originally filled with objects, paintings demonstrated how vessels were used by the *hinhials* of the deceased and their ancestors. Some *kylikeia*, including that in the Tomb of the Painted Vases (fig. 3.8), contain both metal and ceramic vessels, which recalls actual assemblages that survive today and suggests that their perceived functionality was not determined by materials or origin.⁸⁰ The top shelf of the *kylikeion* in the Tomb



Fig. 3.8 Detail of fresco with *kylikeion*, Tomb of the Painted Vases, Tarquinia. Ca. 500. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos. Corneto.TVD 24108)



Fig. 3.9 Detail of fresco with *kylikeion*, Tomb of the Ship, Tarquinia. Ca. 450–425. (Photo by H. Schwanke, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 82.2784)

of the Painted Vases holds a large volute krater, painted in a light color and with rivets to suggest its metal construction. Flanking it are two black-figure ceramic amphorae, the one to left showing a male figure between two horses, the one to right a group of dancing satyrs. It has been proposed that these represent Etruscan figured vessels, similar to those made by the Micali Painter's workshop at Vulci; whether Etruscan or Greek, they must have been understood as imported, since Tarquinia lacked workshops in figured pottery.⁸¹ Two oversized kylikes rest on the lower shelf, their feet upturned. These can almost certainly be considered Greek; the left-hand kylix seems to be an eye cup.

The Tomb of the Ship (fig. 3.9) presents a still more elaborate *kylikeion*, with amphorae, a stamnos, assorted oinochoai, a so-called *Schnabelkanne* (an Etruscan pouring vessel of distinctive shape), a large and likely bronze basin with lion's feet, and two suspended kylikes with geometric decoration.⁸² One of the amphorae (whose handles may instead indicate a misshapen column krater) features a Centauromachy and so must be ceramic; identifying whether other vessels are ceramic or metal is more difficult, given the painting's degraded condition. The Tomb of the Ship's *kylikeion* has attracted attention not only because of the vases depicted and because it too forms part of a banqueting scene, but also because to its left appears a group of ships coming into harbor, a man greeting them with upraised hand. Recent analysis has confirmed them as trading ships, and the double masts of the best-preserved one suggest that it could carry significant cargo; Mario Moretti had earlier proposed that the deceased was a merchant and/or shipowner.⁸³ The vessels in the *kylikeion* are possibly meant to be understood as having been brought by ship, a unique reference to trade in the Tarquinian tombs, if so. The ships themselves could be read symbolically as well as literally: as metaphors for the deceased's passage into the afterworld.⁸⁴

The performativity and multivalence of vases extend elsewhere in mortuary art and ritual. Vessels and containers of all shapes, materials, functions, and origins were omnipresent in the Etruscan funeral, beginning with the preparation of the body, where alabastra held oils for anointing and hydriai or other jars held water for washing and purification.⁸⁵ Family members, likely female relatives charged with looking after the deceased, gathered objects to accompany him or her in the tomb: newly purchased goods or things that the deceased had owned and that served as loci of memory. When it was time to take the deceased to his or her resting place, the adorned body—or, in the case of a cremation burial, the urn holding the remains—and the grave goods were transported through the community and necropolis. Cemeteries occupied transitional zones on the edges of towns: the Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia, for example, lay between the sea and the spaces of the living on a hill opposite the ancient city, while the cemeteries of Vulci completely ringed that community, punctuated by roads, shrines, and a plunging gorge.⁸⁶ The funeral procession marked a meaningful stage as the literal transition from house to tomb and a public opportunity for mourners to join the family in their grief. Grave goods formed a key component of the spectacle, with metal vessels and other objects reflecting the sunlight and objects with narrative imagery (including figured pottery) serving as pictorial commentary on the deceased and the event.⁸⁷ In at least some communities, the funeral culminated with a feast at the tomb.⁸⁸ Rites of

sacrifice and libation believed to revitalize the deceased also took place at the time of burial and were continued by family and community members in perpetual commemoration.

The paintings of the Tomb of the Baron at Tarquinia (Tomba del Barone, ca. 510–500, fig. 3.10) may allude to this latter rite.⁸⁹ On the back wall, a bearded man, joined by a youth playing an aulos, presents a large kylix to an elaborately dressed and veiled woman. Although a minority of scholars have identified her as a goddess, most see her as the deceased, lifting her hands in acceptance of the offering of wine and music.⁹⁰ This central group, placed on axis with the entrance, is framed by a pair of horsemen, with pairs of dismounted horsemen repeating on both side walls. On the left, they converse with a female figure resembling the one on the back wall; on the right, they hold wreaths and converse on their own. Gisela Walberg associates all three pairs of horsemen with the Dioskouroi, known in Etruria as the Tinas Cliniar (“sons of Tinia”), who functioned there as guides for the deceased.⁹¹ She suggests that the left-hand scene shows Castur (Castor) and Pultuce (Pollux) bidding the dead woman to come with them, while the right-hand wall repeats the brothers. Although Walberg does not discuss the pediment on the back wall, the dolphins and hippocamps



Fig. 3.10 Back wall of the Tomb of the Baron, Tarquinia. Ca. 510–500. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Corneto.T.Bar. 24131)

evoke voyaging through their connection with the sea (see chapter 5), while the altar situated above the kylix reinforces the theme of offering.

Because the kylix was a quintessentially Greek shape, rarely produced by Etruscan workshops in the period under discussion, the cup in the Tomb of the Baron and kylikes elsewhere in Etruscan funerary art are best understood as imported vessels.⁹² Evidence exists for the use of Greek kylikes in Etruscan funerary and other ritual practice. Excavators of the Martini Marescotti Tomb at Caere found an Athenian red-figure kylix attributed to Oltos in fragments at the door, where despite its large size (diam. 42.3 cm), it had perhaps been used for a final ritual in the manner of the Tarquinian fresco (fig. 3.11).⁹³ One exterior side depicts Herakles wrestling Nereus, both named by inscription and surrounded by Nereids (also named); the other shows a sacrificial procession with a pair of bulls escorted by youths and musicians playing auloi. The appeal of a sacrificial scene is obvious. So too Herakles/Herakles, who, as noted in chapter 1, received cult in many communities, including Caere and its Sant'Antonio sanctuary.⁹⁴ His successful journey to the Underworld, victories against monsters and other obstacles (like Nereus), and apotheosis to Mount Olympus granted him an eschatological dimension in Etruria.⁹⁵

Two oversized red-figure kylikes from Vulci—one attributed to Oltos (diam. 32 cm) and the second to the Euergides Painter (diam. 36 cm)—were likewise used in tomb ritual.⁹⁶ They lack documented findspots but are associated in archival records with the area of the Cuccumella tumulus;



Fig. 3.11 Attic kylix attributed to Oltos, Martini Marescotti Tomb, Monte Abatone necropolis, Caere. Ca. 520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 106462. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 231498)

both are heavily fragmented and bear unmistakable signs of burning. Despite the damage, the scene on one side of the Oltos cup can be identified as Achilles pursuing Troilos, a subject that (as discussed earlier) was favored in Etruria for its sacrificial subtext and implications of untimely demise. The opposite side shows combat in progress, presumably at Troy, while the tondo shows a nude youth. A nude youth standing inside a large krater appears in the tondo of the Euergides Painter's kylix. One exterior side of this second cup shows two soldiers and a horse, and the partially preserved reverse includes a youth and two horses. The focus on military themes in both instances does not seem accidental, particularly since—as will be seen in chapter 4—the masculine ideal at Vulci, as expressed through mortuary assemblages, was rooted in warrior ideology. The shape of the kylikes and their large size helped dictate their selection for ritual usage, but their iconography was by no means incidental.

As for the Tinas Cliniar likely evoked in the Tomb of the Baron (fig. 3.10), Castur and Pultuce, like Charu (fig. 3.7), received as an offering an oversized kylix, which was found in fragments in a ruined Tarquinian tomb (figs. 3.12–13).⁹⁷ Signed *Oltos egraphsen* and *Euxitheos epoiesen* and measuring 52 centimeters in diameter, the cup is the earliest secure attestation of their worship in Etruria and carries a lengthy dedicatory inscription: “Venel Atelinas gave this to the sons of Tinia” (*itun turuce venel atelinas tinas cliniaras*).⁹⁸ Their eschatological role as guides and their association with immortality surely inspired the dedication, just as bronze mirrors depicting the twins would later be popular in certain communities and for deposition in tombs.⁹⁹ The Dioskouroi do not appear on the Athenian cup themselves, but their father, Zeus, presides over an assembly of gods. More meaningfully perhaps for the deceased, both exterior scenes reference apotheosis.¹⁰⁰ The central standing figure among the six seated deities is the formerly mortal Trojan prince Ganymede in one of his first appearances on an Attic vase, preparing to pour wine from an oinochoe into a phiale held by Zeus. Perhaps he has recently arrived on Mount Olympos following his abduction.¹⁰¹ The reverse shows Dionysos grasping a kantharos and mounting a chariot, accompanied by maenads and satyrs. The similarity in composition to scenes of the apotheosis of Herakles suggests that Dionysos is en route to join the gods, not as part of the myth of Hephaistos' return, frequently depicted by Attic painters (for Hephaistos is not here), but claiming his birthright as son of Zeus.¹⁰² The cup's tondo shows a running soldier with a helmet, a sword, and a shield with heraldic lion device; we are left to ponder the relationship between the inner and outer scenes and the implications for the warrior (and the deceased). This kylix was found with the fragments of a second and much smaller red-figure cup (diam. 23.2 cm), which may have similarly evoked the Tinas Cliniar through the depictions of horsemen on exterior and interior.¹⁰³ The smaller cup may have been meant for the deceased in the banquet of the afterworld, even as the monumental one was meant for gods.

The appearance of dedicatory inscriptions to Fufluns Pachies on two Attic red-figure kylikes from Vulci evokes the banquet and commerce in wine but also recalls the strong eschatological dimension granted to Fufluns (Dionysos) in Etruria.¹⁰⁴ On the bronze Piacenza liver, with its inscribed compendium of gods and goddesses, Fufluns appears in the sector commonly thought to include chthonic deities.¹⁰⁵ A fragmentary cup attributed to the Marlay Group has iconography



Fig. 3.12 Attic kylix signed by Oltos as painter and Euxitheos as potter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 510–500. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC6848. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 231220)



Fig. 3.13 Attic kylix signed by Oltos as painter and Euxitheos as potter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 510–500. Detail of fig. 3.12 with Etruscan inscription. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC6848. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Cer. 8658)

evocative of Dionysos in its tondo: a satyr on a mule.¹⁰⁶ The second cup, however, attributed to the Penthesilea Painter and with a diameter of 40 centimeters, has scenes of youths on its exterior and Apollo attacking Tityos before Leto in its tondo.¹⁰⁷ Although unconnected to Dionysos from a Greek perspective, there may have been a particularly Etruscan reason for this cup to be linked to Fufluns. In deposit K of the Southern Sanctuary of Pyrgi was found an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Tyskiewicz Painter and inscribed *mi Fuflunusra* under the foot; other epigraphic material from this sanctuary refers to Cavatha, an Etruscan goddess who seems related to the Greek Persephone/Kore, and Śuri, a male deity with chthonic and oracular aspects believed by many scholars to be linked with Aplu.¹⁰⁸ The appearance of a dedication to Fufluns in the Southern Sanctuary implies a connection between all three deities. The krater's primary scene shows Herakles reclining at banquet, perhaps after his apotheosis, and other material from the deposit suggests ritual drinking and dining.¹⁰⁹

A small number of Attic vases, around twenty examples currently known and published, received a different type of inscription: versions of the Etruscan word *śuthina*, usually translated as "for the tomb" or "belonging to the tomb."¹¹⁰ Only one has a known findspot, in the Banditaccia necropolis of Caere, but the letterforms and collecting histories of the rest also hint at a Caeretan provenience.¹¹¹ Without documented contexts, the function of *śuthina* inscriptions remains unclear. During the later fourth and third centuries, similar inscriptions appear on bronze mirrors and vessels, mostly from the area around Orvieto and Bolsena.¹¹² Paul Fontaine proposes that *śuthina* inscriptions on vases were meant to diminish their aesthetic appeal and by extension their value, especially when placed near or over an image.¹¹³ He notes that this was less drastic than ritual breakage, which was also practiced by the Etruscans. Nancy de Grummond proposes that in the case of mirrors, *śuthina* inscriptions—always written across the mirror's reflective side rather than the engraved image—not only made them impossible to use but removed their power, mirrors being a way that the *hinthial* could travel between worlds.¹¹⁴ While *śuthina* inscriptions on Attic vases did not render them nonfunctional in the same way (except through discouraging use by the living), it is possible that the words and images were believed to hold a power that to us remains unknown.

There is no pattern in the shapes chosen for *śuthina* inscriptions. Among published vases are a Panathenaic prize amphora (and a fragment of a second), two stamnoi, three pelikai, two kraters, and an oversized phiale.¹¹⁵ Nor is there a pattern in the iconography, workshops represented, or the placement of text, except that the inscriptions tend to be prominent. On the Panathenaic prize amphora (fig. 3.14), *śuthina* appears across the heads of the runners shown on the reverse, participants in the sprint foot race (*stadion*). On a pelike by the Painter of the Birth of Athena, the inscription fully covers the heads of three figures on the obverse, where the scene may depict Theseus arriving at Athens and greeting King Aegeus.¹¹⁶ Similar treatment has been given to the reverse, where Boreas pursues Oreithyia.¹¹⁷ Writing about the Panathenaic amphora, Eva Rystedt claims that "the Etruscan who made the [*śuthina*] inscription did not care too much about the painting," but perhaps in that instance and with the Hamburg pelike, the person inscribing the vase was fully



Fig. 3.14 Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter with *śuthina* inscription. Ca. 500. Paris, Musée du Louvre F277. (Photo by Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN-Grand Palais/ Art Resource, NY)

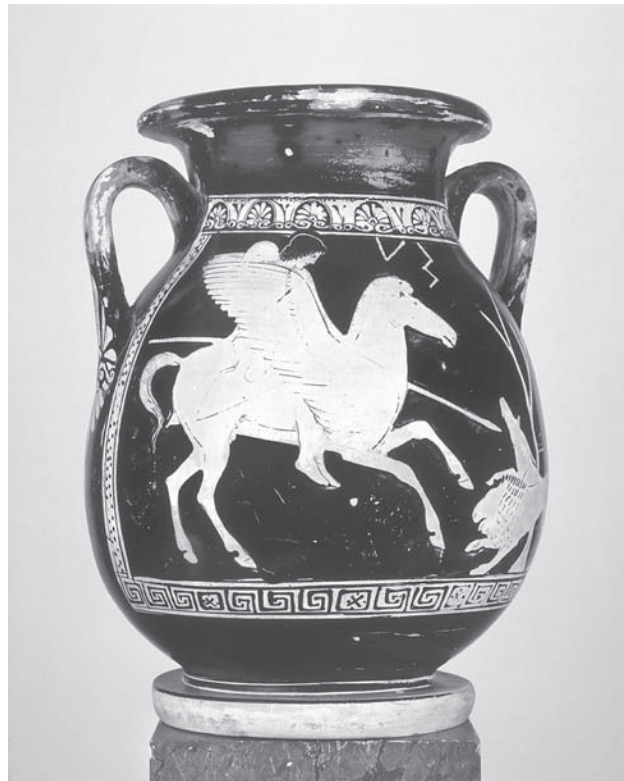


Fig. 3.15 Attic pelike attributed to the Barclay Painter with abbreviated *śuthina* inscription. Ca. 440. Paris, Musée du Louvre G535. (Photo by Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN-Grand Palais/ Art Resource, NY)

aware of the appeal and meaning the images held, and believed that placing the inscription there would best accomplish his or her purposes.¹¹⁸ More care was taken to avoid the image on a pelike by the Barclay Painter, where the abbreviation *SU* was placed in a blank area above Pegasos' head in a scene of Bellerophon and the Chimaera (fig. 3.15). Often the inscriptions are on or just inside each vessel's rim, avoiding the imagery but with letters large enough to be seen.¹¹⁹ On the Caere-tan krater, whose main scene depicts Herakles and Busiris, the *śuthina* inscription lines the mouth (*mi śuthina*) and is accompanied by *zicus*, "of Zicu," presumably the tomb's owner.¹²⁰ As for the oversized phiale by Douris (reconstructed at 42 cm), its fragmentary condition precludes information about the inscription's precise placement, but the exterior was chosen over the more visible interior. Its shape left no option but to intrude upon the decoration, which includes an assembly of gods, unidentified combat, and what might be Herakles fighting the sons of Eurytos. Whatever the motivation, the act of inscribing a foreign vase "for the tomb," like inscriptions to deities, literally and symbolically transformed each piece and situated it within local material culture and belief.

A TALE OF TWO ASSEMBLAGES

Most of the vases discussed thus far in this chapter—and indeed, most Greek vases found in Etruria—lack known findspots. Many documented tomb assemblages do survive, however, and the remainder of this volume privileges these whenever possible as a means of exploring the appropriation and integration of Attic vases in Etruria.¹²¹ Contemporary mortuary theory stresses how a funerary assemblage reflects not only the final act of deposition but the sequence of choices and performative acts leading to that point.¹²² Even after deposition, objects worked not in individual isolation but together, as a singular entity that emblemized concerns of and for the dead within the liminal space of the grave.¹²³ Historically, the tendency in scholarship has been to separate Etruscan from foreign objects in the discussion of grave goods and even to compartmentalize a particular category of object (e.g., mirrors, vases) to the exclusion of others, but the lines between foreign and Etruscan were continually blurred within the tomb context. The *hinthial* of the dead had not yet crossed to the afterworld at the time his or her remains were placed in the tomb; all the objects that accompanied the deceased, along with the design and any decoration of the tomb itself, were intended to assist in the journey. They also enabled the simultaneous construction and commemoration of the deceased's identity, although it must be emphasized that "no matter how realistic or 'quotidian' the images and objects in Etruscan tombs may appear . . . they are not representations of life as it was lived, but rather as it was chosen to be represented."¹²⁴ When graves remain undisturbed at the time of discovery and are fully documented as such, intentionality can be witnessed not only in the selection of objects but in where and how they were physically situated within each space.¹²⁵

One of the greatest challenges in evaluating Etruscan tomb assemblages comes with attempts to determine the deceased's gender. Osteological evidence is unavailable for most documented

tombs with Attic vases because of a failure either to keep (especially in early explorations) or to properly analyze (and publish) the remains.¹²⁶ Banqueting and other vessels appear in the graves of both males and females, so vases alone are no guarantee either way. Among intact Early Iron Age tombs at sites like Tarquinia and Veii, armor and many weapons (spears, swords) can be most reliably associated with males, and textile implements (distaffs, loomweights, spindle whorls) with females, a pattern that seems to extend to later times.¹²⁷ Objects with warrior imagery, however, can appear in tombs of either sex, as, for example, a bronze amphora from a female burial at Bisenzio, whose lid is covered with warrior statuettes.¹²⁸ Knives and meat spits can be found in the graves of both sexes as implements for food preparation, and so can some items of adornment, like razors (although these are preferentially male) and, in Classical and Hellenistic times, strigils.¹²⁹ Mirrors, found in Etruscan communities from the late sixth century onward, were once assumed to be exclusively for women but have since been attested in some later graves where forensic analysis confirms a male deceased; a few mirrors likewise carry inscriptions with male names, presumably the owners'.¹³⁰ The lack of context for the overwhelming majority of Etruscan mirrors—a situation paralleling that of Attic vases—means a lost opportunity to evaluate possible connections between imagery and gender.¹³¹ A tantalizing albeit inconclusive glimpse comes from a group of fourth-century and Hellenistic tombs at Tarquinia, where several female burials feature mirrors with female figures (mostly nude winged *lasas*, attendants of Turan/Aphrodite, except for one mirror with Uni [Hera] suckling Hercle), and a male grave contained a mirror with the Tinas Cliniar.¹³² In this study, I speculate on the gender of deceased individuals based on the evidence available, with the acknowledgment that my and other claims could easily be wrong.

To demonstrate how consideration of a tomb assemblage contributes to our understanding of Athenian figured pottery within Etruscan material culture—even with the usual caveats—this section focuses on two examples. Both were found in the nineteenth century: a previously undisturbed chamber tomb at Caere and a cist tomb at Capua that had been robbed but at the time of discovery still possessed a remarkable group of Athenian vases. The former has been little discussed in modern scholarship, while the latter, the so-called Brygos Tomb, has attracted much attention and even debate precisely because of its Attic pottery. Together they exemplify not only the role figured pottery could play in funerary assemblages but the historiography behind Greek vases in Etruscan tombs.

In 1881 an undisturbed chamber tomb (“una tomba vergine”) was discovered in the Banditaccia necropolis of Caere and described by Wolfgang Helbig in the *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.¹³³ A small space (ca. 2.70 × 3.00 m), the tomb was intended to mimic a house, with a ceiling that Helbig noted was “una volta poco arcuata.”¹³⁴ As is typical of many Caeretan tombs, three benches were carved from the tufa: one on each side wall, the third at the back. Two skeletons lay on the side benches, their feet facing the door. Each bench had a raised rectangular section for the deceased’s head, further articulated with a semicircular recess. The right-hand skeleton was bedecked with jewelry (gold earrings, gold and amber necklace, gold ring, bronze necklace) and outfitted with bronze sandals, identifying her as female; an alabastron lay beside her,

and two bone spoons and a bronze incense burner lay near her head. The left-hand skeleton had no ornament or objects, but, given the local propensity for couples to be buried together, he was likely male.¹³⁵ Two objects lay near the doorway, both broken at the excavators' entry: a glass container or vase, which was neither identifiable nor recoverable, and a black-figure Caeretan hydria attributed to the Eagle Painter, sold by Helbig to the British Museum (fig. 3.16).¹³⁶ The hydria was originally on the floor against the right-hand bench.

In keeping with a long-established tradition of banqueting equipment being placed in Caeretan tombs, a series of bronze and ceramic vessels, both local and imported, stood on the back bench or were originally suspended above it.¹³⁷ The pairing of men and women at banquet can be seen, for instance, in a side room of the Tomb of the Five Chairs (*Tomba delle Cinque Sedie*, ca. 650–630), where two female and three male terracotta statues, probably representing family ancestors, sat on stone chairs accompanied by tables and a small altar.¹³⁸ Two empty seats were likely meant for the couple interred in the main chamber. In Caeretan tombs dating after reclining had become the preferred custom, the deceased's tufa benches are perhaps best identified as dining couches;

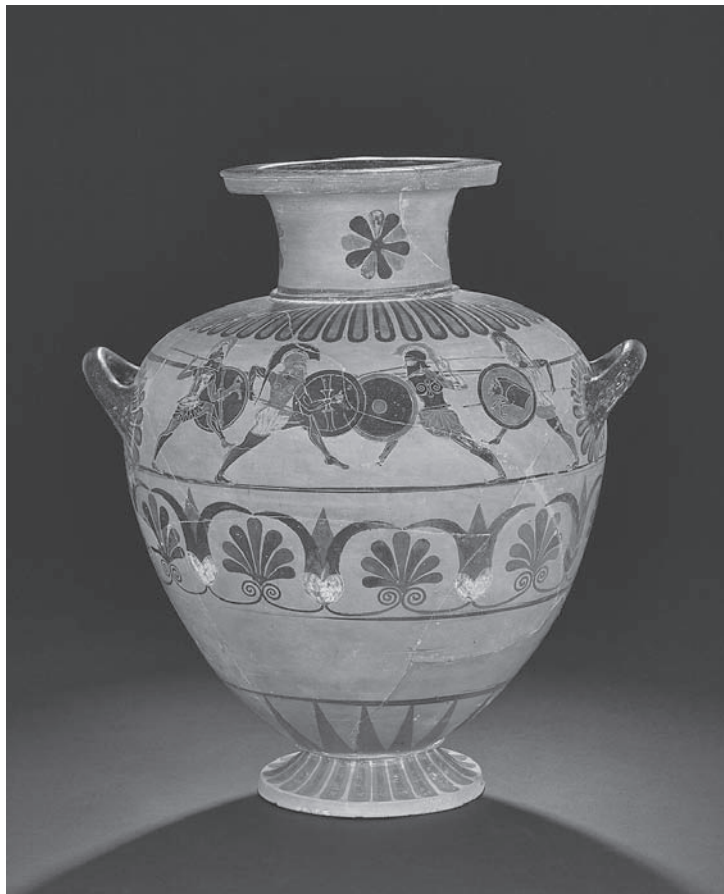


Fig. 3.16 Caeretan hydria
attributed to the Eagle Painter,
from Caere. Ca. 540–530.
London, British Museum B59.
(Photo © The Trustees of
the British Museum/
Art Resource, NY)

one can compare late sixth-century terracotta sarcophagi where couples recline together.¹³⁹ The alabastron lying next to the deceased woman's body in the "tomba vergine" recalls an ash urn from Caere in the Louvre, where the wife holds an alabastron and anoints her husband's hand.¹⁴⁰

As was conventional in the nineteenth century, the tomb objects were sold onto the art market, at least some (like the Caeretan hydria) by Helbig himself. Many have since been reidentified, including some of the bronze vessels, which date primarily from the early sixth century and remain in Florence's Museo Archeologico Nazionale.¹⁴¹ The bronzes included two oversized chalices; two covered containers, one that Helbig said held olive pits and another that contained "una grassa materia legnosa" (a substance that cannot be identified); two oinochoai; and two amphorae. Also featured were a bronze situla, a bronze object identified by Helbig as a cheese grater (since lost), a bronze olpe, a silver jug (unidentified), a bucchero amphora datable to the second quarter of the sixth century, and an unidentified black-glazed ceramic krater, whose description recalled Lakonian examples to Mauro Cristofani, in his 1980 discussion of the tomb. The krater was placed to the far left on the bench, near the head of the presumably male deceased, along with the bucchero amphora, bronze olpe, silver pitcher, and cheese grater. Although Helbig mentions no liquids or residues, the amphora and pitcher were perhaps for wine and water, while the olpe would be used for dipping and pouring. The cheese grater, one of a group found in Etruscan tombs, has been plausibly associated with the drink known as the *kykeon*, where grated goat's cheese and barley were mixed with wine.¹⁴² Mentioned in the *Iliad* (11.628–43) and also linked with rituals at Eleusis, the *kykeon* seems to have had soothing and even medicinal properties for the Greeks and was not simply a celebratory beverage.¹⁴³ Whether the Etruscans regarded the drink as Homeric is unknown, but they may have learned the custom from Euboean traders and immigrants, graters also being found at Lefkandi.¹⁴⁴ There is no reason, however, to interpret the banquet implied by the Caeretan assemblage as a Greek-style symposion. As noted above, such occasions included neither food nor the women of the family.

Three Athenian figured vases stood on the back bench, their iconography working well together and within a broader Caeretan worldview. "Due anfore a figure nero-brunastre," nearly identical in height (42 cm) and regarded by Helbig as a deliberate pair, were identified by Andreas Rumpf as Tyrrhenian amphorae in Karlsruhe (fig. 3.17) and Leipzig (fig. 3.18).¹⁴⁵ Kluiver attributes both vases to the Castellani Painter's middle period (ca. 550), which supports the possibility that they were made, transported, and purchased together.¹⁴⁶ The Karlsruhe amphora was acquired in 1887, and although its provenience is given as Tarquinia in the *CVA* and Kluiver's catalogue, Rumpf's connection with the Caeretan tomb is more persuasive because of its fidelity to Helbig's description. Both amphorae include a mythical *agon* on one side. The Karlsruhe amphora (fig. 3.17) features a duel over a fallen corpse in which combatants attack each other with spears and two other warriors tug at the body. One woman and two bearded men stand to either side, for a total of six spectator figures.¹⁴⁷ Inscriptions beside the corpse are nonsensical, as with other amphorae by this painter, but two possibilities emerge for the represented event: Ajax and Hektor fighting over the body of Patroklos or, more likely, Achilles and Memnon with the body of Antilochos.¹⁴⁸ If the latter,

Fig. 3.17 Attic so-called Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter, from Caere. Ca. 550. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B2423. (Photo by Thomas Goldschmidt, © Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)

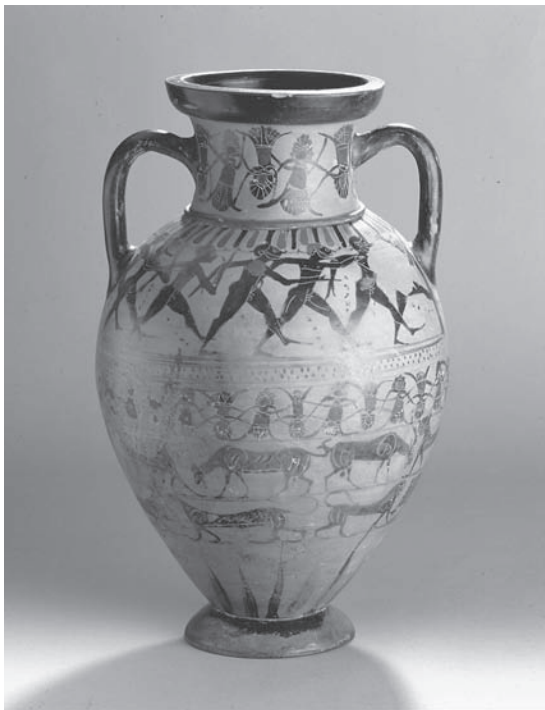


Fig. 3.18 Attic so-called Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter, from Caere. Ca. 550. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität T3324. (Photo: PUNCTUM/ Peter Franke, © Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig)

then the two female figures—who not only stand closest to the fight but carry wreaths—are the warriors’ mothers, Thetis and Eos.¹⁴⁹ The motif of duelling warriors is common in Etruscan iconography: on the Monteleone di Spoleto chariot, discussed earlier, where one panel probably depicts Achle and Memnun; on fifth- and fourth-century bronze mirrors, which could be used in life by men and women and were often placed in tombs; and on the Caeretan hydria placed in this same tomb (fig. 3.16).¹⁵⁰ Carpino suggests that in the case of mirrors, duels between characters like Achle and Memnun (named by inscription in some instances) provided exempla of heroism but also intimations of fate and destiny.¹⁵¹ When Thesan (Eos) was shown in mirror scenes observing the battle or carrying the body of her son, Carpino further argues that “viewers would have gained comfort from the fact that . . . Memnon triumphed over death, having been granted immortality by his mother.”¹⁵² An Etruscan viewer may have read not only the fight scene on the Karlsruhe amphora but the iconography of the Leipzig amphora from this perspective. Here appears the combat between Herakles and the centaur Nessos, which instigated Herakles’ death and apotheosis: Nessos attempts to flee with Deianeira as Herakles points a sword at his head. Hermes, four unidentified female spectators, and two more centaurs watch the fray. An old subject on Athenian vases, this story survives on twelve known Tyrrhenian amphorae; most if not all went to Etruria, although only the Leipzig amphora has a documented findspot.¹⁵³

In addition to sharing themes of heroic combat, both Tyrrhenian amphorae feature scenes of sport that would have recalled funerary games in an Etruscan tomb setting. The Karlsruhe amphora depicts three horsemen (two youthful and one bearded) and their mounts racing toward a turning-post, beyond which stand a bearded figure and prize tripod.¹⁵⁴ Another bearded figure stands to far left. Images of competing horsemen later appear in Etruscan funerary art—for example, in the Tarquinian Tomb of the Inscriptions (Tomba delle Iscrizioni, ca. 520) and Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games (Tomba del Maestro delle Olimpiadi, ca. 500).¹⁵⁵ The Leipzig amphora shows a foot race, with the pumping arms and overlapping positions of the six nude figures implying a sprint (*stadion*) instead of a long-distance *dolichos* (fig. 3.18). The *stadion* was common on early prize and pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, and its appearance here may mirror its popularity in the early Panathenaic games. Foot racing is less common than horse races and other sporting events in Etruscan funerary art, although two noteworthy representations can be found in the Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games and Tomb of the Olympic Games (Tomba delle Olimpiadi, ca. 510) at Tarquinia.¹⁵⁶

The third amphora described by Helbig features a warrior’s departure on both sides:

Grande anfora attica a figure nere, alta 0.50, con traccie di antichi restauri attorno il collo. Una quadriga montata da un oplita ed un auriga sta ferma verso d. L’auriga con barba rossa ha un berretto ed un lungo chitone dipinti col medesimo colore. Dietro i cavalli sporge la figura di un vecchio con barba e capelli bianchi, munito di tenia rossa, lungo chitone nero e mantello rosso (verso s.) e più a d. un oplita (verso s.) con scudo, asta e cnemidi (rosse). Altro oplita è in piedi davanti ai cavalli, il quale ha cnemidi rosse e sopra lo scudo come insegna cinque delfini bianchi.

Accanto a lui sta un cane (verso s.). R: La rappresentanza è quasi interamente coperta di salnitro. Ma si riconosce, che anche su questo lato era dipinta una quadriga ferma verso d. e attorno varie figure.¹⁵⁷

A contemporary and briefer notation in the *Notizie degli Scavi* likewise names the vase an “anfora attica a figure nere,” as opposed to the “due anfore di stile corinzio” (Tyrrhenian amphorae), and describes it only as “coperta dalle incrostazioni, su cui vedesi una quadriga.”¹⁵⁸

Without venturing an exact identification, Cristofani speculates in his 1980 article that this vase was a third Tyrrhenian amphora, perhaps showing the departure of Amphiaraos; however, the distinction in description found in both the *Bullettino* and *Notizie degli Scavi* suggests otherwise.¹⁵⁹ Instead, Helbig’s description almost precisely matches an amphora attributed to the Swing Painter in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 3.19, height given in *CVA* as 51.5 cm), except for the charioteer on its obverse, who wears no “berretto” and whose chiton is not red but white with a red nebris.¹⁶⁰ Since everything else does match—down to the red greaves, five-dolphin shield device, and ancient repairs to the neck—Helbig may have noted details incorrectly, or, given that the vase was partly encrusted with soil, this figure may have been somewhat obscured. An additional piece of evidence concerns the amphora’s collecting history. Acquired by the Metropolitan in 1917, it previously belonged to the American collector Edward Perry Warren, as had the Tyrrhenian amphora in Leipzig (fig. 3.18, donated to the museum in 1911).¹⁶¹

In her monograph on the Swing Painter, Elke Böhr places the Metropolitan amphora in the earliest phase of his output, ca. 540–530.¹⁶² If one accepts both the attribution of this amphora to the Caeretan tomb and Kluiver’s chronology of Tyrrhenian amphorae, the latter two are slightly older and perhaps more contemporary with the bronzes. This becomes less problematic when one considers the Caeretan hydria at the doorway (fig. 3.16), which is close in date to the Swing Painter’s vase.¹⁶³ Perhaps these were deposited at a later time; they may have been interred with the female deceased and the other objects with the male, or vice versa. It is also possible that everything was deposited simultaneously and that the older objects had been long possessed by the family, while the newer vases were acquired for the grave.¹⁶⁴ The ancient repairs to the Metropolitan amphora are described in the *CVA* as lead dowels; if correct, this suggests that the work was done in Athens, not Etruria. The intent of placing the amphora in a tomb perhaps outweighed the aesthetics of the visible mend.

The iconography of the Swing Painter’s amphora proves appropriate for a tomb context and for this assemblage specifically. The chariot had long been abandoned in Greek warfare, so its appearance alongside hoplite warriors lent an archaizing and even heroic note; in some early examples, including some Tyrrhenian amphorae, the warrior in the chariot is identified as the ill-fated Amphiaraos, but in most uninscribed instances the viewer was left to see whomever he or she wished.¹⁶⁵ For Etruscan viewers, the impact of these scenes was amplified by the local significance of chariots, denoting social status, military prowess, and political authority. Actual chariots and carts were included in many seventh- and sixth-century elite burials, including some at Caere, and

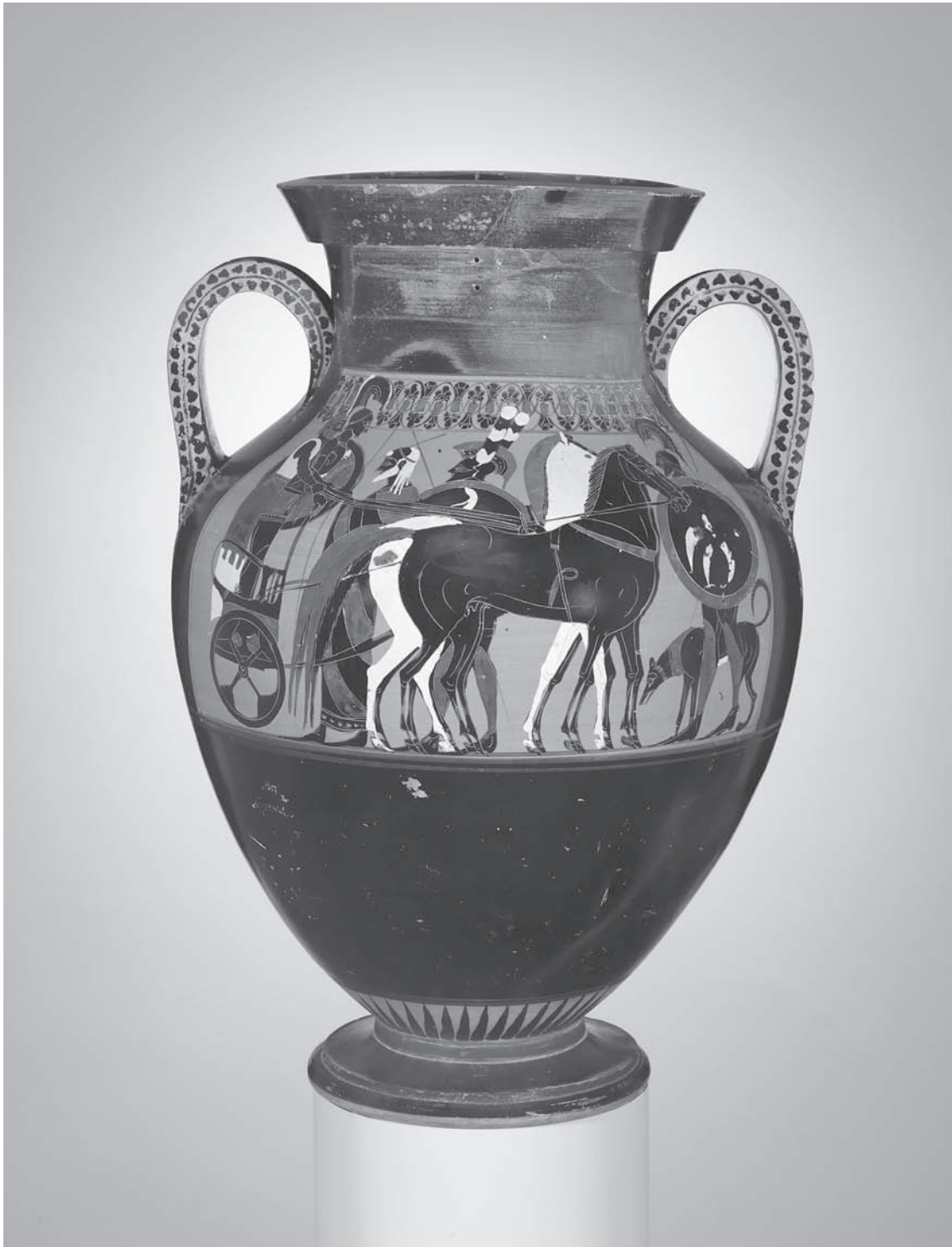


Fig. 3.19 Attic amphora attributed to the Swing Painter, from Caere. Ca. 540–530. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917, 17.230.8. (Photo courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org)

in both male and female single burials as well as multidepositional tombs.¹⁶⁶ In addition to serving as prestige objects, they symbolized the passage and perhaps the heroization of the deceased. As discussed earlier, a side panel of the Monteleone di Spoleto chariot self-referentially portrays the apotheosis of Achle by chariot.¹⁶⁷ Travel by chariot is found in later Etruscan funerary art, such as the fifth-century paintings of the Tomb of the Blue Demons at Tarquinia, also discussed earlier in this chapter. Indeed, the Tomb of the Blue Demons seems to have originally contained a chariot and the remains of horses, a throwback to earlier funerary customs.¹⁶⁸

It is easy to see why imported Attic pottery with warriors' departures by chariot, nuptial processions with couples in chariots, and the apotheosis of Herakles by chariot attained such popularity in Etruria during the sixth century.¹⁶⁹ Athenian workshops learned of these preferences and increased production of these vases. For a prime example, we can point to the Priam Painter and his scenes of Herakles' apotheosis by chariot; most of his black-figure hydriai with this subject (and other Heraklean scenes) went to Vulci, where the shape was especially favored, while a single trademark on three different pots (Johnston's type 13E) suggests that he worked with certain traders.¹⁷⁰ Among vases attributed to the Swing Painter, seven other amphorae with known provenience and dating from Böhr's first phase feature scenes of departure by chariot, in addition to the Caere example (fig. 3.19).¹⁷¹ Two have a generalized provenience of Sicily and one of Etruria, but others are known more specifically: one from Orvieto, one from Vulci, two from Tarquinia. Three hydriai attributed to the Swing Painter or said to be in his manner feature scenes of departure by chariot and have a known Caeretan provenience, although none have a documented findspot.¹⁷²

Viewed together with other figured vases in the tomb, the images on the "grande anfora attica"—not only the largest piece but, if Cristofani's reconstruction is accurate, centrally placed on the back bench—represent a heroic ideal, achievable through glorious feats like those portrayed on the remaining pots. Similar combinations of images can be found on contemporary terracotta plaques and akroteria from temples and civic buildings, not only at Caere but elsewhere in Etruria and Latium: horse races, chariot processions, and deeds of Hercle as the ultimate hero.¹⁷³ Banqueting, as expressed through the assemblage, likewise meshes well with the theme of heroization: the implication is that following their passage to the afterworld, the deceased couple will join their ancestors in feasting. Such ideals can be found in earlier mortuary assemblages at Caere; along with banqueting equipment, real, ceremonial, or model weapons were frequently included as expressions of warrior ideology.¹⁷⁴ Whether imported or locally made, figured pottery seems to have served as an iconographic replacement for weapons, chariots, and so on, which were no longer placed in Caeretan tombs by the mid- and late sixth century.

A more challenging case than the Caeretan "tomba vergine" is the Brygos Tomb in Capua, more formally known as Tomb II of the *località* Quattro Santi. Although it contained seven Athenian red-figure vases at the time of its excavation by Simmaco Doria, this cist tomb had been partly robbed; it is therefore not possible to consider the entire assemblage, which may have included metal vessels and other objects. Nor is it possible even to consider the seven vases in full context, for when Helbig published a report in 1872, the vases already belonged to the Roman collector Alessandro

Castellani, and their placement in the tomb was mostly undocumented. Castellani sold five of the pieces to the British Museum in 1873 (likely aided in this effort by Helbig's report), while the remaining two stamnoi were sold at auction after his death in 1884.¹⁷⁵ Beazley reidentified most of the vases in 1945, while the identity of the last one, a ram's-head vessel that solicited little comment from Helbig, was confirmed by Dyfri Williams in a 1992 article.¹⁷⁶

As with the Caeretan tomb's figured pottery, the Brygos Tomb vases complement one another in shape and image.¹⁷⁷ However, they are not contemporaneous according to currently accepted chronologies, even though the tomb held only one deceased individual. The two oldest (ca. 490–480) are a kylix signed by Brygos as potter and attributed to the Brygos Painter (fig. 3.20), representing on the exterior an unusual subject likely inspired by a satyr play, and a large skyphos signed by Hieron as potter and attributed to Makron as painter (fig. 3.21).¹⁷⁸ The kylix's interior depicts the warrior Chrysis (identified by inscription), performing a libation with a woman named Zeuxo. The skyphos, meanwhile, features Triptolemos in his winged cart, facing Persephone and joined on both sides of the vase by Demeter, the nymph Eleusis, Poseidon, Eumolpos, Zeus, Dionysos, and Amphitrite (all named by inscription). Dating slightly later (ca. 470–460) are two stamnoi of nearly identical size attributed to the Deepdene Painter (figs. 3.22–23); two sphinx-shaped vases, one attributed to Sotades as potter (fig. 3.24), the second to the Tarquinia Painter; and the aforementioned ram's-head vase.¹⁷⁹ Beazley believed, and Williams agrees, that the cup and skyphos had been previous possessions of the deceased or his/her family.¹⁸⁰ Williams then proposes that the five later vases were purchased for the grave. He notes a particular emphasis on erotic pursuit in their iconography, with Eos chasing Kephalos on both stamnoi (fig. 3.22) and a youth with lyre, likely to be Tithonos, on the Tarquinia Painter's rhyton. The opposite side of one of the stamnoi (fig. 3.23) shows the winged Boreas chasing Oreithyia in a purposeful reversal of the Eos/Kephalos pair.¹⁸¹ Williams observes that images of deities chasing mortals could serve as a paradigm for death as much as marriage and further suggests that this interpretation explains the deposition of these particular vessels.¹⁸² Although he does not use the vases to speculate upon the deceased's gender—Williams characterizes the dead with “he” and “his,” without explanation—it is possible that the deceased was male and maybe even died before marriage, given that three of the four scenes have a young man under pursuit.¹⁸³ Male or female, the death of a young person might explain the richness of the original assemblage.

Although the carefully composed nature of the Brygos Tomb assemblage is not in doubt, Williams and subsequent scholars disagree on the deceased's ethnicity. Was he (or she) Greek, Etruscan, or an indigenous Campanian? Capua had long been an Etruscan settlement—according to some literary sources, an Etruscan foundation—but by the time of the Brygos Tomb, the Etruscans were losing their grip on the region, the result of their defeat by the Greeks at the Battle of Cumae (474). Based on the Athenian vases, Williams first suggests that if the deceased was Etruscan, the family was rich and hellenized.¹⁸⁴ He then explores the possibility that the deceased was a Greek immigrant and perhaps even Athenian because of the Attic myths on some of the vases.¹⁸⁵ Not only do Triptolemos and the nymph Eleusis herself appear on the skyphos and Boreas and Oreithyia on



Fig. 3.20 Attic kylix attributed to the Brygos Painter, Brygos Tomb, Capua. Ca. 490–480. London, British Museum E65. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY)



Fig. 3.21 Attic skyphos signed by Hieron as potter and attributed to Makron as painter, Brygos Tomb, Capua. Ca. 490–480. London, British Museum E140. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY)



Fig. 3.22 Attic stamnos attributed to the Deepdene Painter, Brygos Tomb, Capua. Ca. 470–460. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1918, 18.74.1, on long-term loan to the British Museum. (Photo courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org)



Fig. 3.23 Attic stamnos attributed to the Deepdene Painter, Brygos Tomb, Capua. Ca. 470–460. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 211/B1904, on long-term loan to the British Museum. (Photo courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



Fig. 3.24 Attic sphinx rhyton attributed to Sotades as potter and the Sotades Painter, Brygos Tomb, Capua. Ca. 470–460. London, British Museum E788. (Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

one of the stamnoi, but the Sotades rhyton features a bearded man with snaky lower body, almost certainly the autochthonous Athenian king Kekrops. This scene also includes three young women and a seated young man, whom Williams identifies as the king's children.¹⁸⁶ The rhyton has since been proposed by Alan Shapiro to celebrate the birth of Erichthonios, with Kekrops, Pandrosos, and Erysichthon sharing a libation as the “two disobedient girls, Aglauros and Herse, flee the unseen snake in an agitated state.”¹⁸⁷ Williams argues that “the exclusive concentration on Athenian myth and religion on the vases from the Brygos Tomb is surely above and beyond any norm that one

might imagine,” and asks, “how else could one hope to recognize the last resting place of a rich Greek, except by a tomb full of wonderful Greek vases with absolutely no piece of local Italian pottery at all, unlike the multiple burials of Tombs I and III?”¹⁸⁸

While taking into account the totality of the surviving vases in the tomb, this theory rests upon the tacit—and unfounded—assumption that specifically Attic subjects were more likely to be understood by a Greek, and better yet, Athenian, audience. Moreover, it neglects objects stolen from the Brygos Tomb, which, if they were metal vessels, were likely to have been Campanian or even southern Etruscan in manufacture. References to Tombs I and III are likewise misleading. Tomb I dates from the later fourth century, after Campanians had seized control of the area, and Tomb III, with twenty skeletons according to Helbig, seems to have been used from the fifth century into the fourth as well. The local pottery recorded in Tomb III is likely fourth century in date. Returning to the Brygos Tomb’s specific vases, Juliette de la Genière and Martine Denoyelle find the ceramic shapes represented in the assemblage—namely, stamnoi and figured rhyta—more consistent with Etruscan customs; de la Genière observes that a Greek burial would almost certainly contain lekythoi.¹⁸⁹ The pairing of the shapes, two stamnoi and two rhyta, also seems consistent with Etruscan practice at many sites—not only multidepositional tombs like the Caeretan tomb discussed above, with its Tyrrhenian amphorae, but some with a single deceased (e.g., the Vulcian tomb discussed below in the Conclusions). Although the Battle of Cumae did spark a decline of Etruscan influence in Campania, recent analysis suggests a form of refoundation at Capua about the time of the Brygos Tomb, an attempt by Etruscan aristocrats to shore up their remaining power by building new fortifications and altering the urban plan.¹⁹⁰ It seems unlikely that Etruscan families long-seated there would have simply left, although the city’s population did dwindle. Some scholars, including Luca Cerchiali, link the Brygos Tomb’s occupant and objects to this period of Etruscan “ristrutturazione.”¹⁹¹

An *interpretatio etrusca* works just as effectively for the Brygos Tomb vases as a reading from an Athenian perspective. Distribution data show the popularity of erotic pursuit imagery in Etruria proper as much as in Etruscan sites in Campania, the latter including not only Capua but also Nola and Suessula. A hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter with Boreas pursuing Oreithyia, for example, was found in the multidepositional and apparently multigenerational Tomb III nearby at Capua; a Boreas/Oreithyia pelike with Etruscan *śuthina* inscription, unprovenienced but possibly from Caere, is noted in the previous section.¹⁹² Given the ubiquity of winged deities in Etruscan art, the specific popularity of erotic pursuit scenes with winged figures seems significant. Winged males acting as so-called demons guiding the deceased to the afterworld appear on Etruscan black-figure pottery in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, early enough for Boreas on the Karlsruhe stamnos (fig. 3.23) to be interpreted as such (if not as Boreas himself) by the family of the Capuan deceased.¹⁹³ Thesan, who to an Etruscan viewer is featured on both Brygos Tomb stamnoi (fig. 3.22) and on one of the sphinx rhyta, received active cult in a way her Greek counterpart, Eos, did not.¹⁹⁴ Although in Etruscan art she appears more frequently as mother of Memnun (as discussed earlier in this chapter), Thesan whisks away Tithun (Tithonos) on a Late Archaic terracotta temple akroterion

from Caere, and she abducts Tithun or Kephalos on multiple early fifth-century bronze mirrors from Vulci.¹⁹⁵ In a composition unknown among Attic vases, an unprovenienced mirror of ca. 460 depicts Thesan swooping from the sky to snatch Tithun (named by inscription); perhaps significant for the gender of the Brygos Tomb's deceased, a masculine genitive inscription also found in the scene ("of Ustele") likely designates the mirror's owner (fig. 3.25).¹⁹⁶ The high proportion of Attic vases showing Eos chasing (or, more rarely, carrying) Tithonos/Kephalos sent to Italy has been observed by numerous scholars.¹⁹⁷ Given that many were stamnoi like those in the Brygos Tomb—a shape favored in Etruria and Campania, as noted in chapter 2—one can speculate that Athenian workshops learned of an Etruscan preference for this subject via traders and acted upon that knowledge.¹⁹⁸

More distinctively Athenian scenes on the Brygos Tomb vases can likewise be shown to have appealed to Etruscan viewers. The Mission of Triptolemos (fig. 3.21) obviously has strong Eleusinian overtones, and most scholarship has privileged the motif's Athenian context: for example, the Peisistratid promotion of Eleusinian cult may have initially inspired black-figure vase painters, and Athenian ambitions may have occasioned a reinvention of the story in red figure.¹⁹⁹ And yet many black- and red-figure vases with known provenience come from Greek and non-Greek sites in Italy, whether in Etruria, Campania, or Sicily.²⁰⁰ Even if the subject's genesis was grounded in Eleusinian cult and particularly Athenian concerns, its appeal for viewers outside Athens grew beyond those; Demeter and Persephone had broader meaning even without that cult's specificity. The theme of



Fig. 3.25 Etruscan bronze mirror with Thesan abducting Tithun. Ca. 460. Newcastle upon Tyne, Shefton Collection 311. (Drawing by Mary Hurrell, courtesy Shefton Collection)

the abundance and richness of grain and its accompanying economic importance was a positive one for any audience. Little is known of Vei, Demeter's Etruscan counterpart, but she seems to have been an earth deity associated with fertility.²⁰¹ She was also chthonic in function; inscriptions attest her worship within the Cannicella sanctuary of Orvieto, part of a necropolis.²⁰² Phersipnei was similarly a chthonic deity, along with her husband, Aita, as ruler of the underworld; the presence of both on the walls of the Orvietan Golini Tomb I is noted earlier in this chapter. The Greek Persephone/Kore may have also been equated to the Etruscan chthonic goddess Cavatha (or Catha), who was worshiped at the Southern Sanctuary of Pyrgi and also at Orvieto.²⁰³ It may not be coincidental, given the connections of Cavatha, Phersipnei, and Vei with Orvieto, that three Attic red-figure vases with the Mission of Triptolemos were found there.²⁰⁴ Evidence for Triptolemos in Etruscan art or worship is lacking, but he too may have had a chthonic dimension for the Etruscan viewer, his journey in the winged cart being equated with the passage of the dead. That is, unless Etruscan viewers associated this figure with someone else in their pantheon: for example, Fufluns, who was worshiped with Cavatha and Vei at the sanctuaries of Pyrgi and Campo della Fiera outside Orvieto.²⁰⁵

Sotades' sphinx rhyton, with its scene of Kekrops (fig. 3.24), may have had its own *interpretatio etrusca*. The appeal of the sphinx form itself is easy to discern; sphinxes were considered guardians of the dead in Greek funerary art, and this function is seen in Etruria as well.²⁰⁶ One thinks, for instance, of the tufa sphinx statues that guarded many sixth-century tombs at Vulci, placed at the transitional space of the threshold where spirits might roam.²⁰⁷ Although uncommon in painted tombs, sphinxes appear in late seventh-century frescoes in tombs at Veii (Campana Tomb) and Chiusi (Tomb in the Orientalizing Style [Tomba di Stile Orientalizzante], Poggio Renzo necropolis), as well as the late sixth-century Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (fig. 3.2).²⁰⁸ The acquisition of two sphinx rhyta of similar size for the Brygos Tomb guarantees that the deceased's family chose them with intent. The Kekrops vase has a hole in the bottom, making it a true rhyton and possibly indicating that it was used for libations; however, both sphinxes were too fragile in form for extensive use, especially with their added paint and gilt.²⁰⁹ The majority of Attic statuette-vases have been found in sanctuary deposits or in tombs, where they would have received little wear. Most come from outside Greece, either at sites in Italy or in the east, where Persian tastes may have influenced Athenian production and export.²¹⁰ Possibly because of their intricacy, sphinx rhyta specifically are rare. Williams provides three fragmentary comparanda to the Brygos Tomb example, one from a sanctuary at Vulci, signed *Sotades epoiesen* (for which see chapter 5); one from Locri, attributed to the Sotadean workshop, with an Amazon on horseback on its bowl; and a third from the sanctuary at Brauron, signed by Sotades as potter and also featuring a votive inscription.²¹¹

As for the scene on the Brygos Tomb rhyton, the question is: if the deceased's family was Etruscan, how knowledgeable would they have been about the legend of Kekrops? Or would their reading have been different from that of Sotades and his colleagues in Athens? Images of Kekrops, as well as scenes of the birth of Erichthonios in which the baby is handed to Athena by Gaia, have

rightly been tied to notions of Athenian identity and, more specifically, belief in the autochthony of Athenian citizens.²¹² Many vessels with this theme remained in Attica; Amalia Avramidou has recently discussed a pyxis attributed to the Meidias Painter with Kekrops and Erichthonios and its find context in an Athenian tomb, suggesting that “salvation was reached through the birth of Erichthonios, with the implication that the very soil that produced Erichthonios now receives one of his autochthonous descendants.”²¹³ Other vases, however, were found in Italy. Two red-figure vases with the birth, a stamnos and a hydria, were found in tombs on Luciano Bonaparte’s land at Vulci; a red-figure calyx krater comes from nineteenth-century excavations at Chiusi; and an oversized cup attributed to the Codrus Painter, in which Kekrops watches the birth, was found among collapsed tombs in 1876 excavations at Tarquinia.²¹⁴ Given that many of the Codrus Painter’s vases went to Etruria, this cup’s shipment to Tarquinia would hardly have been a surprise to the workshop; ditto for the stamnos attributed to the Painter of Munich 2413, related stylistically in some way to Hermonax, most of whose own stamnoi went to Etruscan communities (including Vulci). Athenian workshops may have thought that Erichthonios imagery was a “recognizable trademark for the city” and was therefore acceptable for vases likely to be exported.²¹⁵ As for the Etruscan consumer, it is possible that the viewer/buyer was familiar with Attic mythology. In her discussion of the Codrus Painter cup (whose tondo features a scene of Eos carrying Kephalos), Avramidou suggests that in Etruria such vases were “valued primarily for their funerary connotations, but also for their potential to demonstrate the social status of a learned owner.”²¹⁶ She concedes, however, that scenes of the birth of Erichthonios may have been read from a purely Etruscan perspective—for example, as images of the divine child Tages—in which case any subtext of Athenian identity would not have mattered.²¹⁷ Françoise-Hélène Massa-Pairault seeks an Etruscan reading, relating these images to “un rituel d’héroïsation de la *gens*.”²¹⁸

The Brygos Tomb rhyton does not show the actual birth and so is open to other interpretive possibilities. A clue may come from Helbig’s own account, in which he described the snake-bodied main figure not as Kekrops but as Triton.²¹⁹ It seems unlikely that an Etruscan viewer would have confused this anguiped figure with a sea creature, but Helbig’s misidentification brings to mind the many snake-legged characters in Etruscan art, who often serve as afterworld demons.²²⁰ Most examples come from fourth-century and Hellenistic art, such as the snake-legged creature holding an oar in the Tomb of the Reliefs (Tomba dei Rilievi) at Caere, possibly a variant form of Charu(n), and similar figures on Volterranean ash urns and in Tarquinian painted tombs.²²¹ Snakes serve as heraldic and presumably apotropaic figures in painted tombs as well, an early instance being Tomb 1999 at Tarquinia (ca. 510–500).²²² Sometimes these snakes are bearded.²²³ Charu(n) can wield snakes as well as a hammer in later Etruscan art, as for instance in the Tomb of Orcus I at Tarquinia (ca. 350) and Golini Tomb II at Orvieto (ca. 350–325); in the contemporary Golini Tomb I, Aita holds a spear entwined with a serpent.²²⁴ An anguiped figure performing a libation has no known parallel in Etruscan art, but there is sufficient evidence for the chthonic associations of serpents in Etruria to suggest that the Kekrops figure on the rhyton—if not recognized as Kekrops himself—may have

been viewed as an underworld creature, and certainly a liminal one. The performance of libation and his pairing with a winged female (who may have been read as Thesan or Vanth) grant him a positive instead of fearful aspect.

Liminality seems to be a theme of the Brygos Tomb assemblage as a whole, in keeping with the conception of the Etruscan tomb as a liminal space. Every vase depicts a liminal creature and sometimes passage across worlds: satyrs, sphinxes, gorgoneia, anguipeds, winged deities pursuing mortals in order to snatch them away, Triptolemos and his winged cart capable of flying over the earth. Even libation, also prevalent iconographically in the assemblage, can be thought of as a ritual that attempts to transcend boundaries between god and mortal, living and dead. For all the Greekness and, more precisely, the Athenian-ness of the Brygos Tomb vases, their visual language—when viewed as a group and considered within a funerary context—is emphatically Etruscan and consistent with mortuary art and belief farther north.

CONCLUSIONS

Although separated by many miles and at least fifty years, the contents of the *tomba vergine* at Caere and the Brygos Tomb at Capua reveal the similar concerns for their deceased occupants held by their respective families. Banqueting dominates both assemblages, with vases for mixing/aerating wine, drinking, and storage; this emphasis is consistent with longstanding Etruscan beliefs regarding the roles of feasting in life, at the funeral, and in the afterworld. The Brygos Tomb seems to have been robbed of its (likely) metal goods, but presumably it, like the Caeretan tomb, included an assortment of bronze and ceramic vessels and equipment. If it did include metalware, these objects may have been brought from southern Etruria and so may also be seen as imported, just as much as the array of Athenian figured pottery. In both tombs the gathered vessels—like those displayed in the fictive, frescoed *kylikeia* of the Tarquinian tombs (figs. 3.8–9)—signaled the status of the dead and their families and simultaneously equipped the deceased for what lay ahead.

The contents of both tombs further suggest thoughtful and deliberate choices by the families of the deceased, choices that reinforce the liminality of the tomb space; the mortuary assemblage as process; and the agency of the Etruscan consumer. These were not readymade banqueting sets, and if current stylistic chronologies are an indication, the figured vessels were not simultaneously acquired. The narratives of Athenian vases seem to have driven their selection for the grave as much as their shapes: their iconography was meaningful not just in terms of individual pieces but as a cohesive assemblage. Consistent themes include propitious gods and heroes, sometimes hybrid beings of their own liminal sort; scenes promoting the passage and even heroization of the deceased; and themes of ritual, including scenes likely to have been read by Etruscan viewers as related to the funeral (e.g., funeral games). Subjects prevalent in Athenian painting at the time of each tomb—chariot scenes being very popular in the latter third of the sixth century, erotic pursuit in the second quarter of the fifth—acquired new meaning in a funerary context. Even more distinctively

Athenian subjects like the Mission of Triptolemos (fig. 3.21) or Kekrops and his children (fig. 3.24) translated into a mortuary setting abroad.

I close this chapter with a third tomb exhibiting similar tendencies at Vulci, a site that plays a strong role in the remainder of this volume. Judging from known finds, Vulci received even more imported vases than Caere and Capua. Discovered in the late nineteenth century near the Cuccumella tumulus of the eastern necropoleis, this *tomba a cassone*, a type of chamber tomb unique to Vulci, included a single inhumation burial upon a low stone bench. Fragments of a bronze strigil were in the deceased's hand, and a carnelian scarab with the figure of a satyr lay nearby.²²⁵ The strigil and scarab cannot confidently be used to discern the deceased's gender: strigils appear in both male and female tombs, and while most of the thousands of surviving Etruscan scarabs lack provenience, they are thought to have been used by both men and women for adornment, sealing, and/or as apotropaic amulets. Fragmentary bucchero vessels and three Athenian vases lay on the floor. The iconography of the latter echoes the scarab's subject matter: a red-figure stamnos with scenes of Dionysian women and two nearly identical, red-figure phialai (diam. 25 cm) with Dionysian scenes ringing their interiors and Eros on the *mesomphaloi*.²²⁶ Both men and women hold phialai in ritual imagery (e.g., bronze statuettes of worshipers making offerings or depictions of the goddess Vanth with a phiale), but in banqueting scenes phialai are associated with men, so their presence may suggest a male burial.²²⁷ The emphasis on Dionysos and his *thiasos* in the assemblage recalls the local importance of Fufluns, with the stamnos and phialai (and any lost metal vessels) equipping the deceased for an afterworld banquet.²²⁸

The phialai were attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Bologna 417, a member of the Penthesilean workshop, and seem to have been made and acquired as a pair, like the Castellani Painter's Tyrrhenian amphorae in the Caeretan tomb (figs. 3.17–18) and the Deepdene Painter's stamnoi in the Brygos Tomb (figs. 3.22–23).²²⁹ Their exteriors carry identical scenes of erotic pursuit: a bearded man with scepter (perhaps Zeus) chases a young woman (perhaps Aegina), who runs with two other young women toward an old man with scepter. In addition, a winged woman pursues a youth wearing a chlamys on both phialai. Helbig identifies her as Nike, but because the youth runs away, she is more likely Eos, as identified by Beazley and also seen on the Brygos Tomb stamnoi. The family likely selected the phialai in part for this imagery, while the Dionysian iconography on both interiors contributes to a positive message. Holding a kantharos and a sprig of ivy, the god is surrounded by four satyrs and four maenads, music, dancing, and drinking being the order of the day.

The stamnos, attributed by Beazley to the Methyse Painter, likewise features Dionysian imagery, here joyous yet restrained. According to Helbig's description, three Dionysian women in chitons move in apparent processions on each side of the vase: on the first side, one of the women holds a laurel branch and another a kantharos; on the opposite side, the central woman plays the double aulos and another holds a kantharos and a thyrsos. The remaining women do not hold objects but stretch out their hands and gaze toward their companions. This vase forms part of a series of Early Classical red-figure stamnoi centered on the Villa Giulia, Chicago, and Methyse

Painters and depicting Dionysian worship.²³⁰ The best-known and most controversial scenes in the group feature women celebrating around a mask-idol of the god (so-called *Lenaia* scenes), but vases that show only processing women, like this *stamnos*, raise questions too. One hesitates to call the women *maenads*, given the absence of live animals, animal skins, or frenzied behavior, so are they immortal nymphs or mortal Athenians participating in real cult practices, past or present?²³¹ Complicating matters is the apparent targeting of these *stamnoi* at consumers in Etruria and Campania, the source of nearly all the examples with known provenience, though hardly any have a documented findspot.²³² One of the “*Lenaia*” *stamnoi* was used as a cinerary urn in Tomb 298 at Capua, where it was joined by an Attic *kantharos* in the form of Herakles’ head and an amphora with Nike approaching a young woman.²³³ The age and gender of the deceased in the Capua and Vulci tombs remain unknown, but whether male or female, through the deposition of these vases the dead were characterized as followers of *Fufluns*. In the Vulci tomb, this suggestion is supported by the juxtaposition of the *stamnos* with the *phialai*, where the god himself is depicted, and the scarab depicting a satyr. Once again the liminality of the tomb space is affirmed, and once again both the shapes and the imagery of imported vases went far in satisfying the needs and securing the future of the deceased.

Athenian Eye Cups Abroad

IN APRIL 1829 AN ATHENIAN BLACK-FIGURE KYLIX was discovered in a tomb in the Cannelocchio *località* of Luciano Bonaparte's estate at Vulci (figs. 4.1–2).¹ Signed by Exekias as potter and attributed to him as painter, the cup today is one of the most famous and frequently illustrated Greek vases, the Etruscan chapter of its biography long eclipsed by the innovations of its creator. Large contour eyes with pronounced tear glands and ringed irises dominate the cup's exterior, while scenes of warriors fighting over soldiers' bodies—possibly Trojan themes, although they lack inscriptions—occupy the areas around the handles. A sea of coral red fills the interior, where the god Dionysos floats in a ship whose mast blossoms into grapevines as a school of seven dolphins circles the composition. This is a cup of “firsts”: the first known time Dionysos was portrayed as a reclining symposiast (here with a drinking horn) and in connection with a ship; the first known time the entirety of a cup's interior, as opposed to a framed tondo, was used for a scene; one of the first extant Type A eye cups; the earliest surviving vase to use coral red glaze (also known as “intentional red”) as a background.² It is also the only surviving Exekian Type A cup. His pride in his work and his entrepreneurial instincts perhaps inspired the neatly lettered *epoiesen* signature ringing the foot.³ Bonaparte pronounced the interior scene “la nef du patriarche” and offered an etruscocentric interpretation involving Sabatius and the kin of Noah, while acknowledging that archaeologists he knew believed that the cup showed Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates. Today, the story of Dionysos and the pirates-turned-dolphins remains the most common reading, although others have been proposed.⁴ Most likely Exekias did not intend to illustrate the equally famous *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* that survives to tell the tale, for discrepancies exist between text and image. Rather, the cup portrays the tranquil aftermath, with the triumphant god relaxing amid his transfigured foes. The viewer is reminded of the power of both Dionysos and the wine he provides.



Fig. 4.1 Attic eye cup signed by Exekias as potter, from Vulci. Ca. 540. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729/2044. (Photo by Christa Koppermann, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)



Fig. 4.2 Attic eye cup signed by Exekias as potter, from Vulci. Ca. 540. Interior of fig. 4.1. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 8729/2044. (Photo: bpk Bildagentur/ Staatliche Antikensammlungen/ Art Resource, NY)

Eye cups emerged in Athenian workshops ca. 540–530, a time of fast-paced development for both drinking vessels and the Etruscan export trade. In ranking among the earliest of its type, Exekias' kylix may reflect his workshop's creation or at least popularization of both the Type A shape and the eye motif.⁵ The inspiration behind the eyes may have come from the east: East Greek painters had produced so-called eye bowls, which were concentrated in the eastern Mediterranean and disappeared around the mid-sixth century.⁶ Attic eye cups enjoyed significant popularity in black figure, produced by a variety of painters and workshops (e.g., fig. 2.6) and with a corresponding range in quality.⁷ Their subject matter likewise varied but often invoked Dionysian themes, as appropriate for the shape, with leering gorgoneia favored for their interiors. As the red-figure technique evolved, so-called bilingual examples—cups that feature both the black- and red-figure techniques—and fully red-figure eye cups appeared, although the latter were less common.⁸ Eye cups faded from popularity around the time of the Persian Wars and did not reappear.

By virtue of their numbers and distribution and the existence of documented tomb assemblages featuring these vessels, Athenian eye cups provide an ideal case study for the mechanics of the pottery trade and the consumption of imported vases by Etruscan owners. Scholars have consistently privileged a hypothetical Athenian audience and especially the presumed environment of the Greek symposion, emphasizing such themes as masking, Dionysian transformation, and play. Broader consideration of both the eye motif and the distribution of eye cups, however, demonstrates the limitations of this approach. The earliest, largest, and most innovative examples were sent to Italy, especially southern Etruria and communities like Vulci, suggesting that Athenian workshops making these kylikes—including that of Exekias—cultivated the export market. The best evidence for eye cups at banquets actually comes from Etruscan and other non-Greek populations to the east and west (compare the discussion of the *Pointe Lequin* 1A ship in chapter 2), whereas at Athens and other Greek sites, eye cups and other vessels with eyes were primarily associated with graves and sanctuaries. Although eye cups can be found in Etruscan domestic and sanctuary contexts in limited numbers, funerary assemblages reveal their significance within the liminal space of the tomb. Their unique decoration seems to have served apotropaic functions while marking the site of passage.

Apotropaion vs. SYMPOSION

The striking appearance of Athenian eye cups inspired speculation early in their modern lives. The antiquarian and traveler George Dennis wrote of their “mysterious eyes” in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848), describing them as singular, remarkable, and curious.⁹ Although admitting that their meaning “has not been satisfactorily determined,” Dennis advocated a theory that in recent years has mostly been dismissed as old-fashioned: the suggestion that the eyes were apotropaic and the vases themselves were potentially protective devices: “There is some plausibility in the opinion that these eyes were charms against the evil eye, in which the ancients believed as strongly as the modern southrons of Europe. We know that the Gorgonion was supposed to have the power of

averting evil . . . and these eyes may be those of Gorgons, for they are evidently intended to represent a face, the other features being even sometimes introduced.”¹⁰ About a century later, W. L. Hildburgh presented his version: “It would seem natural . . . that the Etruscans and the Greeks, who were firmly convinced of the possibility of injury, not only through the unintentional agency of an intrinsic ‘fascinator’ or through a voluntary exercise of sorcery, but also through mere envy or jealousy, should adopt the two most obvious presumably effective measures for the avoidance of such injury; that is, by apotropaic devices on the exterior of a drinking-vessel to prevent contamination of its contents, and by some similar device (or devices) within it and in immediate contact with the liquid to prevent contamination during the act of drinking.”¹¹ Following this theme, scholars in later years have compared the eyes on the cups to Egyptian *wedjat* eyes or, like Dennis, to the eyes of Gorgons, seeing the frequent appearance of gorgoneia in the tondos of eye cups as evidence for this reading.¹² Isabelle Raubitschek likened the eyes on cups to the eyes on Greek ships, thought by some to both protect the boats and guide their way.¹³

In a 1976 article featuring the so-called Bomford cup, with its silen-mask between the eyes and penis-shaped foot (fig. 4.3), John Boardman presented a symposion-centered interpretation,



Fig. 4.3 Attic eye cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter (“Bomford cup”). Ca. 520. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1974.344. (Photo © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

which has since prevailed. “The whole eye cup is itself in the form of a mask,” he wrote. “Consider one raised to the lips of a drinker: the eyes cover his eyes, the handles his ears, the gaping underfoot his mouth.”¹⁴ This quote and its sentiments have been repeated elsewhere, complete with photographs demonstrating Boardman’s point, with eye cup held dutifully to a “drinker’s” face.¹⁵ Gloria Ferrari built upon the theme of masking in a 1986 article, arguing that eye cups show “dramatic masks of different characters, most often of silens,” and relating the cups to the early development of theater.¹⁶ Norbert Kunisch took this idea a step further, using the different shapes of eyes found on the cups (so-called masculine and feminine eyes) to distinguish between masks of silens and masks of nymphs or maenads.¹⁷

The concept of transformation—the drinker assuming an alternative identity within the symposion’s shifting world—has remained paramount: the drinker becomes the being depicted on the cup and displays that face to his companions during the revels.¹⁸ This interpretation has been linked to Dionysian iconology, theories of alterity, and even to social class through the symposion’s elite associations. As Richard Neer explains: “The Dionysiac emblem par excellence, the mask is a figure of that alienation from self which defines both dramatic performance and drunken reverie. With an eye-cup—any eye-cup—the symposiast becomes an actor, a participant in a complex drama of presence and absence. One minute he is there among friends, and the next he is gone, replaced by the staring eyes of the cup/mask. He shuttles between the two, as the vessel’s eyes replace his own. The result is a certain fluidity of identity, a playful uncertainty as to just who is who and what is what. Such play is absolutely typical of the Greek symposium.”¹⁹ Related is the belief that the eye motif is meant to be humorous, again invoking sympotic play.²⁰

The focus on masking and play meshes with a broader focus on the Athenian symposion that has flourished since the early 1980s. The backlash against an apotropaic meaning, meanwhile, seems part of a larger reaction in scholarship against magic and superstition that began around the mid-twentieth century and has continued until recently.²¹ The idea of eye cups relating to masks and masking is not far-fetched, for some eye cups, albeit a minority, do feature nose-like forms and/or ears in addition to large eyes. Many date from the earliest production of eye cups, like Exekias’ kylix (fig. 4.1), while others belong to the so-called Chalcidizing type and echo the potting and decorative schemes of so-called Chalcidian eye cups.²² Some Chalcidizing cups, including an example with a *Nikosthenes epoiesen* signature and another said to be from Vulci (fig. 4.4), include a pair of silen or satyr ears together with the eyes and silen-like “nose.”²³ The appearance of mask-like frontal faces on the exteriors of some eye cups (fig. 4.3) is similarly suggestive, representing silens, Dionysos, and occasionally Gorgons.²⁴ A seated, frontal-faced satyr plays the aulos between the eyes on a cup from Vulci.²⁵

A reading tied exclusively to the Athenian symposion, however, becomes difficult to sustain once the evidence is examined more closely. Many eye cups literally do not fit. The photograph of a “drinker” published in Neer’s book shows an eye cup measuring 23 centimeters in diameter, close to the average diameter for Late Archaic cups (ca. 20 cm).²⁶ The make-believe drinker’s face fits inside the cup’s bowl, and Boardman’s observation rings true, as “the eyes cover his eyes, the



Fig. 4.4 Attic so-called Chalcidizing eye cup, from Vulci. Ca. 530–520. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds donated by Craig and Mary Wood, 86.51. (Photo © Tampa Museum of Art)

handles his ears.” But although many eye cups have similar or smaller measurements, many surpass them. The bilingual eye cup by Oltos held in a photograph in Boardman’s *Greek Art* has a diameter of 32.5 centimeters; not only is it much larger than the “drinker’s” head, but the image is misleading because the cup is empty.²⁷ To compare others already discussed, Exekias’ kylix (fig. 4.1) measures 30.4 centimeters in diameter and 12.8 centimeters in height; its deep bowl is estimated to hold over three liters at full capacity.²⁸ Larger still are the Bomford cup at 34 centimeters (fig. 4.3); the Aineias eye cup signed by Nikosthenes at 34.5 centimeters (fig. 2.6); a black-figure eye cup by the Lysippides Painter with a diameter of 40.2 centimeters, estimated to hold over six liters at full capacity; and a cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter from Foiano della Chiana with a diameter of 60 centimeters (fig. 4.5).²⁹ Neer says that a bilingual eye cup from Chiusi signed by Andokides as potter “was meant to be handled and used . . . filled with wine, lifted to the lips, set down on a tabletop,” but all these things would be difficult to accomplish with a kylix 53.5 centimeters in diameter.³⁰ Oversized cups with diameters larger than 25 centimeters, certainly 30 centimeters, seem better suited for display or deposit than drinking.

A masking/sympotic reading applied to the eyes on Athenian cups overlooks other shapes featuring similar decoration, including amphorae, hydriai, kraters, kyathoi, and lekythoi.³¹ Nearly all black-figure, these vessels vary in quality, but their number makes it clear that the eye motif could possess broader meaning. A kitharist stands between a pair of eyes on one side of an unattributed



Fig. 4.5 Attic eye cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 530–520. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 74624, on long-term loan to the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

amphora from Tarquinia (fig. 4.6, left) as Dionysos and Ariadne appear on the other; on a black-figure hydria attributed to the A D Painter from Vulci, Dionysos sits between a pair of eyes on the shoulder as a pair of eye-sirens confront each other on the body.³² A single eye is shown instead of a pair on a few cups and some other shapes, further demonstrating the motif's versatility.³³ The exterior of a black-figure cup attributed to the Amasis Painter features a single eye-siren on one exterior side, while, on the opposite side, chubby revelers masturbate and a dog defecates under each handle.³⁴ A large single eye occupies the necks of two black-figure Nikosthenic amphorae (fig. 2.4), both lacking provenience but surely from Etruria and likely from Caere.³⁵

The distribution and findspots of eye cups and other vessels with eyes provide the most compelling reason to reconsider an automatic association with the Athenian symposion. Chronology likewise becomes important, as one considers the findspots of examples from earlier versus later in the series. Current distribution data show that the western market was significant from the beginning for Attic workshops producing eye cups: Etruria, but also south Italy, Sicily, and points beyond. As discussed in chapter 2, the late sixth-century *Pointe Lequin 1* A ship bound for Massalia included 144 fragmentary Type A eye cups among its cargo, the majority attributed to the Nikosthenic workshop. This find reveals large-scale, directed trade in these kylikes to a wine-drinking, cup-loving audience of Greeks and non-Greeks in southern France. The majority of eye cups found in Gaul seem to have been used for feasting; thus, fragmentary black-figure eye cups excavated at



Fig. 4.6 Unattributed Attic amphora with kitharist between eyes and Attic amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter with mask of Dionysos, both from Tarquinia. Ca. 530–520. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC2800 (left) and RC1804 (right). (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

habitation areas at Ensérune in Languedoc are all average-sized and ideal for drinking.³⁶ The relative lack of kraters discovered in these areas, however, confirms that feasting among indigenous inhabitants did not equate to Greek-style symposia.

The most influential and presumably most profitable market for eye cups and other vessels with eyes—not only in the west but in the entire Mediterranean basin—was in southern Etruria and environs.³⁷ Over two hundred Attic vessels with eyes were found at Vulci alone, and more than 75 percent of them are cups. All three techniques are represented (black-figure, bilingual, and red-figure), ranging from early to late in the series. Many are oversized, like the Exekias kylix (fig. 4.1) and Nikosthenes' Aineias cup (fig. 2.6). Eye vessels also appear at Etruscan sites in northern Italy (e.g., Bologna, Adria, Spina) and Campania (e.g., Capua and Nola), but in smaller numbers and often later in date. Predictably, most eye cups discovered in Etruria come from tombs, although

fragmentary examples have been found in the Ara della Regina sanctuary at Tarquinia, the Belvedere sanctuary at Orvieto, the sanctuary of Campo della Fiera just outside Orvieto, and the Greco-Etruscan sanctuary at Gravisca near Tarquinia.³⁸ Eye cup fragments have also turned up in some of the few excavated Etruscan houses: for example, at Regisvilla near Vulci and the northern site of Marzabotto.³⁹ Ancient repairs in some eye cups from tombs—including the Exekias kylix, whose foot was reattached at some point—may indicate display or use in homes before deposition. Although the original metal is missing in most instances (including on the Exekias kylix), one bilingual eye cup preserves its bronze clamp, suggesting a repair undertaken in Etruria, not Athens.⁴⁰

Confirmation of the significance of eye vessels to the Etruscans can be found not only in Athenian production for this market but production elsewhere. So-called Chalcidian black-figure eye cups seem to have been intended largely if not exclusively for export northward from south Italy (where they are now believed to have been produced), with most provenienced examples coming from Etruscan sites: the largest number from Caere (ca. thirty cups), followed by Vulci (ca. eight cups).⁴¹ Only two Chalcidian eye cups, both from Rhegion, are counted among known vases of this type with findspots in Magna Graecia, and none come from sites in mainland Greece. It seems that south Italian workshops targeted Etruscan customers for this shape, and Attic workshops responded with their own so-called Chalcidizing cups (fig. 4.4), perhaps originating with the potter Nikosthenes.⁴² The prevalence of eyes-and-nose decoration on both Chalcidian and Chalcidizing eye cups is worth noting; these kylikes have no relation to the Athenian symposion and were intended for a different audience all along.⁴³

Imported Athenian and Chalcidian vases with eye decoration may have inspired Etruscan ceramic workshops to adopt the motif; however, they seem to have felt it unnecessary to produce eye cups of their own.⁴⁴ Instead, eyes appear on amphorae, hydriai, and kyathoi attributed to the Micali Painter and his associates, as well as to the Ivy Leaf Group.⁴⁵ These had limited distribution in southern and central Etruria, with the center of production suspected to be at Vulci.⁴⁶ Most lack documented findspots, but the 1998 discovery of the Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases in Vulci's Osteria necropolis (Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali, Tomb A2/1998) places an Etruscan eye vessel in context. The woman in this *tomba a cassone* was buried with a lidded amphora by the Micali Painter featuring lions on the body and eyes on the shoulder (fig. 4.7), together with other Etruscan and Attic vases, Etruscan bronze vessels, and a bronze mirror.⁴⁷ Another amphora with eye decoration attributed to the Micali Painter was discovered at Tarquinia in the late nineteenth century. Used as a cinerarium and placed in a pit tomb, it has satyrs dancing and playing aulos on its body.⁴⁸ The clear influence of Athenian eye cups as a model can be seen on yet another amphora attributed to this painter and originally from Vulci: pairs of eyes occupied most of the body, and a frontal gorgoneion appeared under one handle.⁴⁹

Consideration of the distribution of Athenian eye cups in the eastern Mediterranean yields a different pattern than is seen in the west. Naukratis in Egypt seems to have been one of the first places to import these kylikes, in small numbers and likely carried by Greek traders; a black-figure eye cup attributed to the circle of the Lysippides Painter served as a votive offering in the sanctuary



Fig. 4.7 Etruscan amphora attributed to the Micali Painter, Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A2/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131311. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 219717)

of Apollo, a fragmentary inscription preserving the god's name.⁵⁰ The occasional Athenian eye cup has been excavated at other Greek sites like Kamiros and Ialysos on Rhodes, and Elaious and Old Smyrna in Turkey.⁵¹ Eye cups have also been found at non-Greek sites like Gordion, Daskyleion, Sardis, and Xanthos; many come from domestic contexts, raising questions about their use and meaning for non-Greek banqueters there.⁵² With the exception of those found at Naukratis (which also included a bilingual eye cup attributed to Olto), most Attic eye cups from the eastern Mediterranean are black-figure, average-sized in diameter, and from late in the series.⁵³ The Leafless Group, which sent a large quantity of its cups eastward in addition to producing for the home market (as will be seen below), is the workshop most frequently represented.⁵⁴ Later examples of Athenian black-figure eye cups can be found at coastal Black Sea sites such as Olbia, showing the increased opening of this market early in the fifth century.

Finally, we turn to Athens itself, critical not only as the point of production but because of scholarly focus on the Athenian symposium as the hypothetical use context of eye cups.⁵⁵ Among

the sixty-seven mostly fragmentary eye cups in the current corpus, only one can be associated with a house. Well J2:4 of the Agora—believed to contain the debris of a single Athenian household following the Persian sack of 480—included at least one fragment from a black-figure eye cup, attributable to the Leafless Group and dating to the early fifth century.⁵⁶ Average-sized or slightly larger, this cup may indeed have been valued for a masking effect and may have been used for symposia or other communal drinking activities. This does not appear to have been an elite or particularly wealthy household, however, and the cup's use seems to have been short-lived. While a set of red-figure cups and two coral red cups (none with eyes) seem to have been part of this household's possessions at the time of the Persian sack, together with a set of black-figure skyphoi, the eye cup fragments and other black-figure kylix fragments derive from a lower level of the well, suggesting that they were discarded earlier. Noting the paucity of black-figure stemmed cups in the Persian destruction deposits of the Agora, Kathleen Lynch proposes that they had fallen out of fashion in Athenian households by that time, with red-figure cups favored instead for sympotic ware, and black-figure skyphoi for other occasions.

Only ten certain eye cup fragments have been published from elsewhere in the Agora, nearly all from fill contexts or otherwise scattered finds, and all but one black-figure.⁵⁷ The notable exception is a red-figure fragment attributed to Olto, which could have come from a bilingual or entirely red-figure Type A kylix.⁵⁸ With an estimated diameter of 31 centimeters, this eye cup is unusual among those found in Athens for its size as well as its technique. Among black-figure eye cup fragments from the Agora, the earliest dates from ca. 540–530, whereas most date from the late sixth or early fifth centuries. The Leafless Group is well represented. Two fragments from Type C stemless eye cups, found in the same well (G15:1), feature figures reclining between the eyes; although their find context is inconclusive, it is possible that they came from a house and were used in communal drinking.⁵⁹ One (P1152) has a reconstructed diameter of 18.8 centimeters, and the other (P1153) 17.5 centimeters, so, as with the Well J2:4 fragment, a masking or sympotic interpretation is not implausible. Households in the vicinity of the Agora, however, are thought to have been working or middle class rather than elite and aristocratic. Admittedly, in relying on Agora deposits, our evidence for eye cups in Athenian houses may be skewed. The sorts of Athenians who lived there were likely not participating in symposia at the time of the earliest eye cups, whereas after the advent of democracy in the last decade of the sixth century, the symposium as a form of communal drinking was adopted by a broader range of social groups.⁶⁰ Perhaps more early eye cups are waiting to be discovered in more affluent ancient neighborhoods.

Based on the current corpus, the most important context for eye cups in Athens was the Akropolis, with at least fifty-five black-figure and two red-figure fragments surviving today.⁶¹ Like most of the hundreds of fragments found on the hill, the majority cannot be confirmed as coming from a specific deposit; therefore, it is unclear whether they had been in the sanctuary before the Persian sack or were brought up as fill during building projects later in the fifth century.⁶² Three of the black-figure eye cup fragments do have a secure context from a deposit associated with the construction of the (pre-)Parthenon podium in the early 480s, and so must have been votive

offerings and/or used in rituals or dining before that time.⁶³ Early fifth-century products of the Leafless Group, each features a horseman between the eyes. Another fragmentary eye cup found on the Akropolis depicts Athena amid the Gigantomachy, an appropriate dedication.⁶⁴ The presence of eye cups here recalls examples from other Greek sanctuaries—similarly black-figure, approximately average-sized, and late in the series—such as the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia, Aphaia at Aegina, Demeter and Kore at Cyrene, Artemis at Thasos, and Hera at Samos.⁶⁵ Red-figure eye cups are rare at Greek sanctuaries, aside from the minimal Akropolis fragments and a single fragment from the Argive Heraion.⁶⁶ While it is possible that these were used for dining within the sanctuaries, such a function nonetheless differed from elite symposia held in houses.

To summarize: surviving eye cups from Athens suggest that in contrast to distribution patterns in Etruria, black-figure eye cups were important to the home market late in their production history, while bilingual and red-figure eye cups were nearly nonexistent. Average-sized or smaller cups were favored over larger examples, and the Leafless Group's workshop was particularly active in producing eye cups for local consumption. The export market, especially to the west, afforded workshops and traders greater opportunities for innovation and profit. Distribution data reveal a form of targeted trade as discussed in chapter 2: eye cups were not sent only to Etruria, but workshops and traders recognized preferences and worked to satisfy them. Specific characteristics of eye cups sent to Etruria—as for instance the large corpus from Vulci, discussed in the next section—imply an ongoing desire to entice customers and dominate the market with oversized kylikes and use of the red-figure and other special techniques. The popularity of Athenian eye cups in Etruria during the range of their production suggests that these goals were profitably met, at least for a time. As demand waned at the end of the sixth century and in the early fifth, black-figure eye cup painters like the Leafless Group and the traders who worked with them sought buyers in other places, including the eastern Mediterranean and Athens itself.

The find contexts of eye cups, heavily weighted toward the export trade and especially the Etruscan market, suggest that we should open our considerations beyond the Athenian symposion. Perhaps in the context of tombs and sanctuaries—the source of most known finds, not only in Etruria but elsewhere in the Mediterranean—an apotropaic function for the eyes on the cups was significant after all. Comparisons can be found in Etruscan temple decoration. Disembodied pairs of eyes adorn alternating bases of the terracotta akroterial statues of the late sixth-century Portonaccio Temple at Veii, confronting viewers seen and unseen; frontal-faced, large-eyed antefixes of Gorgons, satyrs, Achlae (Acheloös), and maenads along the *sima* likewise serve a protective function while delineating the sacred space.⁶⁷ As Vedia Izzet has stressed, these are hybrid and even liminal beings, “ideal for mediating between one world and another.”⁶⁸ Eye cups can evoke the very same creatures: satyrs by the occasional inclusion of ears (fig. 4.4), maenads perhaps by the so-called feminine eyes. An Etruscan viewer may have imagined the faces of eye cups to represent gorgoneia or even the shape-shifting Achlae, important for his associations with prosperity and fertility but also for an apparent eschatological dimension.⁶⁹

Certainly in the liminal space of Etruscan tombs, where the deceased, the tomb itself, and any visiting family members needed protection, interpreting eyes as *apotropaia* would suit any shaped vessel within an assemblage, cup or otherwise. One does not need to look far in Etruscan art to find uncanny creatures who can both protect a tomb and electrify the space as a transitional site of passage. Gorgoneia appear early in this capacity: for example, a fragmentary bronze rectangular urn from a seventh-century tomb at Veii, which seems to have had a Gorgon mask decorating one or both of its long sides.⁷⁰ Also dating to the seventh century is a bronze Gorgon mask of Greek manufacture from the San Paolo Tomb at Caere (width 19 cm), which hung on a wall inside the chamber and whose eyes were emphasized through different materials.⁷¹ One of the earliest tombs at Tarquinia, the Tomb of the Panthers (Tomba delle Pantere) from the end of the seventh century, presents a hybrid variation: a frontal feline mask on the burial chamber's back wall, with fierce staring eyes and the snaky hair of a Gorgon.⁷² It is flanked by two rearing panthers, the left with its head turned to face the viewer. All three figures are emblazoned above a pair of stone couches for the deceased. Closer in time to the eye cups, protective objects at sixth-century Vulcian tombs included sculptures of lions, sphinxes, and other creatures placed near doorways. Their exaggerated eyes reveal their watchfulness as well as their ability to mediate between the worlds of the living and the dead.⁷³

Placed in a tomb context, the frontal-faced, splayed-leg satyr playing an aulos on an Attic black-figure eye cup may have been read by an Etruscan viewer as confrontational as much as celebratory, and both the eyes and phallus on the so-called Bomford cup may have been seen as repelling bad luck and bad forces (fig. 4.3). So too the eye cup attributed to the Amasis Painter with its masturbating revelers, defecating dogs, and prominent eye-siren; erotic and scurrilous images in the Tarquinian tombs, such as the lovemaking couples in the Tomb of the Bulls (figs. 3.2–3), a winged phallus in the Tomb of the Little Mouse (Tomba del Topolino), or the defecating man in the Tomb of the Jugglers (Tomba dei Giocolieri), have been read as possible apotropaic signs.⁷⁴ In the previous chapter, the bilingual eye cup by Oltos with dedication to Charu (fig. 3.7) was suggested as an offering to the deity in exchange for protection and guidance. These specific eye cups cannot be evaluated within their original tomb contexts, but documented mortuary assemblages support these sorts of readings. A selection of Vulcian tombs will be considered in the next section, and one may also mention Athenian eye cups in tombs at Caere, Orvieto, Bologna, and Spina.⁷⁵ In each instance where a complete assemblage can be evaluated, the shapes of the cups seem to have influenced their selection for deposition by the deceased's family, and no less so their vivid imagery and unblinking, unwavering eyes.

ATHENIAN EYE CUPS AT ETRUSCAN VULCI

Given the sheer quantity of vases unearthed at Vulci in both old and recent excavations, the discovery of over two hundred Athenian vessels of various shapes with eyes is not surprising, and yet

the proportion seems higher than can be explained by mere coincidence.⁷⁶ Particularly when one considers so-called Chalcidian eye cups with documented Vulcian provenience and local workshops producing eye vessels, it is clear that this community represented a major destination for pottery with eye decoration. Examination of the 158 Attic eye cups of the current corpus suggests an atmosphere of innovation and competition as workshops and traders sought to satisfy, expand, and ultimately keep their Etruscan clientele. Black-figure (120 cups), bilingual (26), and red-figure (12) eye cups span a range of time from their earliest production in the 530s until their last hurrah in the early fifth century.

Even without untangling all of the relationships between the attested potters and painters, patterns suggestive of directed production and/or trade present themselves. The Nikosthenic workshop is amply represented, not only by Chalcidizing cups but also by kyathoi and Nikosthenic amphorae with eyes as decoration. As noted in chapter 2, both of these forms, like the Chalcidizing cups, are thought to have originated in this workshop, and both are frequently cited as examples of production targeted to the Etruscan market. Some of the other, non-Chalcidizing eye cups at Vulci are signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*, including black-figure (fig. 2.6) and bilingual Type A cups.⁷⁷ Another group of potters/painters whose products recur at Vulci, and who may or may not have had ties to the Nikosthenic workshop, is the Krokotos Group (including the Group of Walters 48.42), with eight black-figure Type A cups, including one discussed below with its tomb assemblage.⁷⁸ Not all of the potters and painters represented in the Vulcian sample had special ties to Etruria, but the overall picture meshes well with the hypothesis that workshops knew of the demand for eye vessels abroad and, with the help of information from traders, explored how best to capitalize on it.

The appearance of mercantile trademarks on three Vulcian eye cups—notable given the rarity of trademarks on kylikes—further confirms directed trade. Two black-figure eye cups carry the incised graffito of trader ΣΟ, the would-be Sostratos (type 21A), discussed in chapter 2 as someone who cultivated close relationships with workshops (including the Nikosthenic workshop and Perizoma Group) and knowledge of his Etruscan customer base.⁷⁹ They are not contemporary. The older, unattributed but dated ca. 530–520, is oversized at 30.6 centimeters in diameter and features Amazons between the eyes on each side, with animal combats under the handles (fig. 4.8).⁸⁰ The other belongs to the Leafless Group, late in the eye cup series, and is only 21.3 centimeters in diameter.⁸¹ Its hastily rendered decoration includes Dionysos and a woman (Ariadne?) reclining together at banquet between the eyes: a male-female couple recalling the possibly bespoke stamnoi of the Perizoma Group, some of which had been marked by trader ΣΟ (including fig. 2.7). The Leafless Group depicted similar couples on other cups, with and without eyes, some of which do not have Etruscan findspots; unlike the Perizoma Group's own sympotic couples, this workshop does not seem to have geared production of this subject to a particular audience.⁸² Trader ΣΟ, however, may have chosen the cup because of the subject and local interest at Vulci.

The third Vulcian eye cup with trademark is a bilingual kylix with a face-like exterior and a goat in the tondo (diam. 31.7 cm), dated ca. 520.⁸³ Signed by neither potter nor painter, it has been placed within the Nikosthenic workshop and recalls the early work of Oltos.⁸⁴ It carries perhaps



Fig. 4.8 Attic eye cup, from Vulci, view of underside with trademark. Ca. 530–520. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2030. (Photo by Renate Kühling, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)

two marks, the more visible being Johnston's trademark type 9D: a graffito that appears on just over twenty vases. All with known proveniences were found in Vulci, Caere, and Chiusi. As for the second mark, the upper part of an alpha is plainly seen, and it may be joined by a fainter stemless rho, Johnston's type 9E (AP), written unligatured and in retrograde.⁸⁵ Other marks from trader 9E/AP do not correspond to the Nikosthenic workshop, but he did work closely with the Leagros Group and the Affecter (during a later period of the latter's career), both of whom produced many vases for Etruscan export; in Johnston's words, he seems to have had "a good eye for the market."⁸⁶ Perhaps both trader 9D and trader 9E—who may have transported this cup at different points in its journey—recognized that the kylix was the type of vessel that could find a buyer at Vulci. Certainly the savvy Nikosthenic workshop seems to have recognized the potential appeal (and

profitability) of making bilingual and red-figure eye cups, likely with the Etruscan market in mind. In her study of bilingual vases, Beth Cohen credits this *kerameion* with standardizing and popularizing the eye and palmette scheme for such kylikes.⁸⁷

The chronological spread of eye cups at Vulci reveals an interesting interplay between the black-figure, bilingual, and red-figure techniques. Bilingual eye cups appear in the later 520s, concurrent with the production of fine eye cups in black figure, but as bilingual and red-figure eye cups grew in popularity into the teens, the quality of—and presumably the demand for—black-figure eye cups at Vulci seems to have lessened. Perhaps the assurance that new products incorporating new techniques would find buyers abroad encouraged experimentation on the part of Athenian workshops, their risk minimized by knowledge gained through traders.⁸⁸ The desire to remain competitive provided another motivation. The rise of red figure affected not only the Attic black-figure eye cup market in Etruria, but also the market for Chalcidian eye cups, with Chalcidian black figure disappearing by the end of the sixth century. The latest Attic black-figure eye cups at Vulci belong to the Leafless Group, which, as noted previously, produced small, lower-quality examples for a variety of markets. This *kerameion*'s focus on the eastern and Athenian home market for eye cups was perhaps meant to offset the dwindling popularity of these vases in Etruria as much as to satisfy consumer demand in those areas.⁸⁹

The latest red-figure eye cup in the current Vulcian corpus—attributed to the Colmar Painter and 30.7 centimeters in diameter—represents the last gasp of these kylikes, a group called the Late Archaic Class of Eye Cups by Beazley.⁹⁰ In a 1988 article Dyfri Williams highlights the proveniences of these vases, attributed to such painters as the Colmar and Antiphon Painters: he observes that only one fragment came from the Athenian Akropolis, whereas the Colmar Painter's cup noted above came from Vulci and two others came from Spina.⁹¹ Based on the collecting histories of the remaining examples, he presumes the majority, if not all, to come from Etruria and date to the 490s, at least a decade since red-figure eye cups had previously been made. He describes their production as “a remarkable archaistic step” that may have been occasioned by knowledge of the Etruscan market and earlier demand for eye cups there.⁹² These conclusions are supported by recent archival research into the Louvre's Campana collection (noted in chapter 2) that ascribes a Caeretan provenience to more ceramic fragments: in this case fragments of an additional eight examples from the Late Archaic Class of Eye Cups.⁹³ One may speculate on whether these kylikes represent an attempt to revive the popularity of eye cups in Etruria. If so, it was ultimately unsuccessful, since both black- and red-figure eye cups fade from the Etruscan market soon afterward.

Among the 158 eye cups from Vulci, fewer than a dozen have documented findspots and tomb assemblages. These include three black-figure eye cups from Tomb LXXIX in the eastern Polledrara necropolis, excavated by Stéphane Gsell in the late nineteenth century; a black-figure eye cup from Tomb 47 (also known as the Tomb of the Warrior or Tomba del Guerriero) of the Osteria necropolis, discovered during the Ferraguti–Mengarelli excavations of 1929; another black-figure example from Tomb 50, discovered the same year and part of the same tomb complex; two bilingual eye cups from the Radicetti Tomb, found in 1973, also in the Osteria necropolis; and a large

red-figure eye cup attributed to Oltos, found in the Tomb of the Kottabos (Tomba del Kottabos, Tomb A9/1998) during recent excavations in the same area.⁹⁴ Along with Gsell's Tomb LXXIX, we shall focus here on Mengarelli Tombs 47 and 50, and the Tomb of the Kottabos.⁹⁵

Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara Necropolis

Gsell's 1889 excavations, undertaken at the behest of Prince Giulio Torlonia, revisited areas of the eastern necropoleis that had already been cleared during the Bonaparte explorations. Despite the difficulties of conducting a methodical excavation, Gsell attempted to record finds accurately, and although the Athenian vases he discovered have since been dispersed, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct tomb assemblages. This is true of Tomb LXXIX, a *tomba a cassone* located in the Polledrara necropolis with a corridor leading to an open-air vestibule and two burial chambers, labeled A and B by Gsell.⁹⁶ Typically each room of a Vulcian *tomba a cassone* held a single burial, while the open vestibules served as transitional areas between living and dead and may have been used for funerary banquets. Many sixth-century Vulcian stone sculptures—lions, sphinxes, and other imposing creatures—probably came from these vestibules, where they guarded doorways.⁹⁷ Banqueting and apotropaic considerations likely affected the deposition of Athenian eye cups and other Attic vessels inside *cassone* tombs.

Chamber A, the focus of the present discussion, was the smaller room, measuring 2.4 by 1.9 meters.⁹⁸ Gsell notes that it had been entered previously; many vases were broken, but he lists Attic and Etruscan black-figure, black-glazed, and bucchero storage vessels and cups. He also mentions a group of broken alabastra (made of actual alabaster), fragmentary bronze vessels, and a group of broken ivory pieces. The assemblage thus evoked the theme of banqueting, while the alabastra recalled the preparation of the body for burial.

Gsell describes four identifiable Athenian vases in the tomb, all with Dionysian imagery.⁹⁹ Not only would the god and his followers have evoked the banquet and commerce in wine (the latter important at Vulci), but, as discussed in chapter 3, Dionysos/Fufluns possessed a strong eschatological dimension in Etruria. A black-figure amphora attributed to the Antiope Painter—apparently a member of the Leagros Group, many of whose vases traveled to Vulci—includes Dionysos and members of his *thiasos* on one side and brawling warriors on the other, while the still-preserved lid depicts three racing chariots (fig. 4.9).¹⁰⁰ If one presumes that the deceased was male (only a presumption, given the lack of securely gendered artifacts, but suggested by the inclusion of figured kylikes, on which see below), the imagery of warfare would have bolstered the Etruscan masculine and even heroic ideal. Chariots were a status symbol, as discussed in chapter 3, while chariot racing called funerary games to mind.¹⁰¹ One can compare chariot races on the walls of some painted tombs, such as the Tomb of the Olympic Games of Tarquinia, close in date to Tomb LXXIX, and the fifth-century Tomb of the Casuccini Hill (Tomba del Colle Casuccini) near Chiusi.¹⁰²

Three black-figure eye cups joined the amphora. The largest (diam. 31.5 cm) is attributed to the Group of Walters 48.42 and, typically for that Group, features frontal faces of Dionysos between the eyes on each side (fig. 4.10).¹⁰³ The god appears again on the second cup, attributed to



Fig. 4.9 Attic amphora attributed to the Antiope Painter, Chamber A, Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 530–520. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift of M.H. de Young, 24874.1. (Photo © Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)

the Leafless Group (diam. 22.1 cm); holding a drinking horn, he sits between the eyes on each side as satyrs frolic around the handles.¹⁰⁴ The third cup, for which Gsell provides a description and measurements (diam. 21.0 cm), included a dancing satyr in the tondo and a horseman between the eyes on each exterior side.¹⁰⁵ Thanks to a photograph preserved in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, it can be identified as an eye cup attributed to the Painter of Vatican G69; formerly on the Roman art market, its current location remains unknown.¹⁰⁶ The horsemen on this cup echo the chariots on the amphora's lid and similarly serve as positive images of status and prestige. It is possible that they were interpreted by the deceased's family as the Tinas Cliniai, the Etruscan Dioskouroi, who like Fufluns possessed chthonic associations and could serve as guides to the afterworld. As seen in chapter 3, pairs of horsemen who have been identified as the twins by some scholars appear in some Tarquinian tombs, including the Tomb of the Baron (fig. 3.10). If the family



Fig. 4.10 Attic eye cup attributed to the Group of Walters 48.42, Chamber A, Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 510–500. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8057. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

of Tomb LXXIX's deceased read the eye cup's horsemen as Castor and Pultuce, this amplified the potency of both kylix and assemblage.

Tomb 47 (Tomb of the Warrior), Osteria Necropolis

The 1929 excavations conducted by Ugo Ferraguti and Raniero Mengarelli in the Osteria necropolis yielded fifty-three tombs, among them a *cassone* complex with (at least) nine burial chambers grouped around a vestibule.¹⁰⁷ Two of these, labeled Tombs 47 and 50 by Ferraguti, featured Athenian black-figure eye cups in their assemblages; each housed a single male occupant, and both were small (ca. 2 by 2 m). Tomb 47 contained a literal wealth of objects in this limited space, with an assortment of bronze armor and weaponry unmatched in other Vulcian burials (fig. 4.11).¹⁰⁸ These included a large bronze shield with relief plaques securing the armband and depicting Achle and Truile, spears, swords, a knife, a bronze helmet originally hanging on the wall, a pair of bronze greaves, and what seem to be parts of a mostly rotted chariot or cart. Presumably the deceased was a warrior of high social status, or at least his family wished to portray him as such.

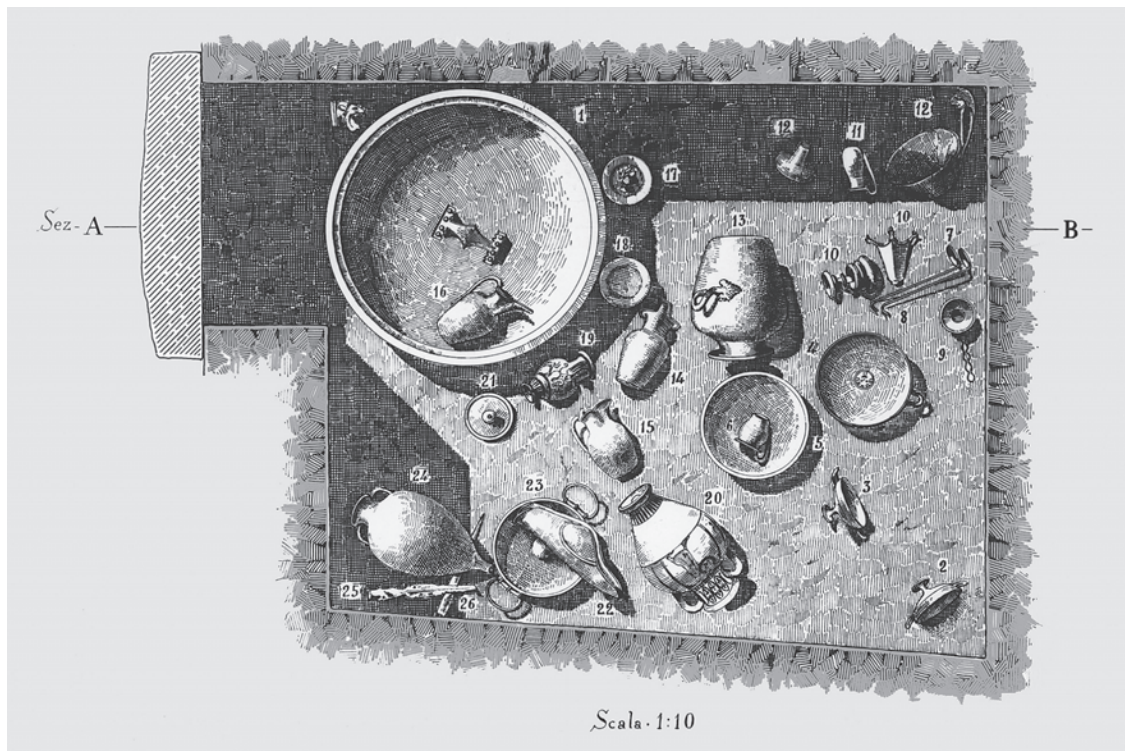


Fig. 4.11 Plan of Tomb 47, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 6175)

The military equipment was joined by vessels and utensils that formed a nearly complete banqueting set. This is characteristic of many Vulcian chamber tombs, although Tomb 47 exceeds the rest in its richness.¹⁰⁹ Most if not all of the bronzes were locally made, among them two beaked jugs, an oinochoe, an olpe, a stamnos, a sieve, two ladles, a large omphalos-bowl, and a *thymiaterion* or candelabrum. Ceramic vessels included two oversized Etruscan bucchero kyathoi, a transport amphora of possibly local production, two small ceramic platters also of possibly local production, and five Attic vases. The Attic vases comprised a black-figure pseudo-Panathenaic amphora bearing the image of Athena Promachos but lacking an official prize inscription (fig. 4.12), a smaller black-figure neck amphora, two black-figure lip cups, and a large black-figure eye cup (fig. 4.13). The two ceramic platters still hold the centuries-old bone remnants of either the last celebratory feast or provisions for the deceased. The bucchero kyathoi and Attic eye cup, too large for effective drinking, may have been used for libations or other ritual purposes, or as offerings in their own right.

As with the tombs discussed in chapter 3 and Tomb LXXIX above, the iconographic subjects of the Athenian vases harmonize well with each other and the complete assemblage. The eye cup



Fig. 4.12 Attic pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, Tomb 47, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 63573. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 257721)



Fig. 4.13 Attic eye cup, Tomb 47, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 515. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 63558. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 28492)

(fig. 4.13), measuring 30.8 cm in diameter, features a gorgoneion in the tondo and a standing figure of Dionysos between dancing satyrs on each exterior side.¹¹⁰ Crowned with ivy, he holds a *keras* (drinking horn) in one scene, a kantharos in the other, the latter pictorially incised with the head of a youth. Dionysos and satyrs repeat on the small neck amphora, whose reverse shows the god with dancing satyr and maenad.¹¹¹ Its obverse depicts Herakles fighting Amazons, the battle motif recalling the assemblage's military equipment. An agonistic theme in turn repeats on the lip cups, which are smaller than the eye cup and feature animal imagery.¹¹² They may be slightly earlier than other Attic vases in the tomb; whether previous possessions of the deceased or not, they were clearly considered a pair. Animal combat appears on the first cup—a lion attacking a boar on one side, a stag on the other—a theme that may have held sacrificial and apotropaic meaning.¹¹³ Each side of the second cup has a lion and a sphinx facing one another, while both cups include gorgoneia in the tondo.

Combat of a different sort appears on the reverse of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora, where sparring boxers are watched by a trainer and a third competitor (fig. 4.12).¹¹⁴ Athletic images on prize and pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae represented specific *agones* for the Athenian festival, but in Etruscan tomb contexts they could evoke funerary games (cf. fig. 3.14).¹¹⁵ Boxing appears in Etruscan art from the seventh century onward, its importance suggested by its frequent depiction in Chiusine stone urns, Tarquinian tomb paintings, and the like.¹¹⁶ In the Cardarelli Tomb and some other tombs at Tarquinia, boxers frame the tomb's doorway, simultaneously evoking funerary ritual and serving an apotropaic function.¹¹⁷ In Etruria as in Greece, boxing was further linked with the Tinas Cliniar/Dioskouroi, the match between Pultuce (Polydeukes) and Amuce (Amykos) appearing on mirrors, cistae, and other objects.¹¹⁸ The eschatological associations of the Tinas Cliniar may have lent boxing images on imported vases additional significance.¹¹⁹ As for the obverse of this and other pseudo-Panathenaic and prize amphorae, the representation of Athena had obvious appeal. Known locally as Menerva or Menrva, she was critical in Etruscan religion, with healing, oracular, and other powers beyond those she was believed to possess by Greeks.¹²⁰ On this example, her shield device is a chariot, already noted as an Etruscan prestige symbol and possibly mirroring an actual chariot in the tomb assemblage.

Tomb 50, Osteria Necropolis

Although more sparsely supplied than the deceased of Tomb 47, the (presumably) male occupant of Tomb 50 was also buried with objects evoking Vulcian notions of identity, status, and the after-world (fig. 4.14).¹²¹ Along with bronze and iron weapons (including a spearpoint), bronze vessels (oinochoe, olpe, two pitchers), a set of bone dice, and a large discus that may have referenced funerary games as much as the deceased's athletic prowess, five Athenian vases were included in the assemblage: a black-figure eye cup, two small black-figure cups with lotus-and-palmette friezes, a small black-figure neck amphora, and a black-figure hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, with a military chariot scene on the body and hoplite combat on the shoulder (fig. 4.15). The hydria's presence verifies that instead of these vases being identified exclusively with women, as is

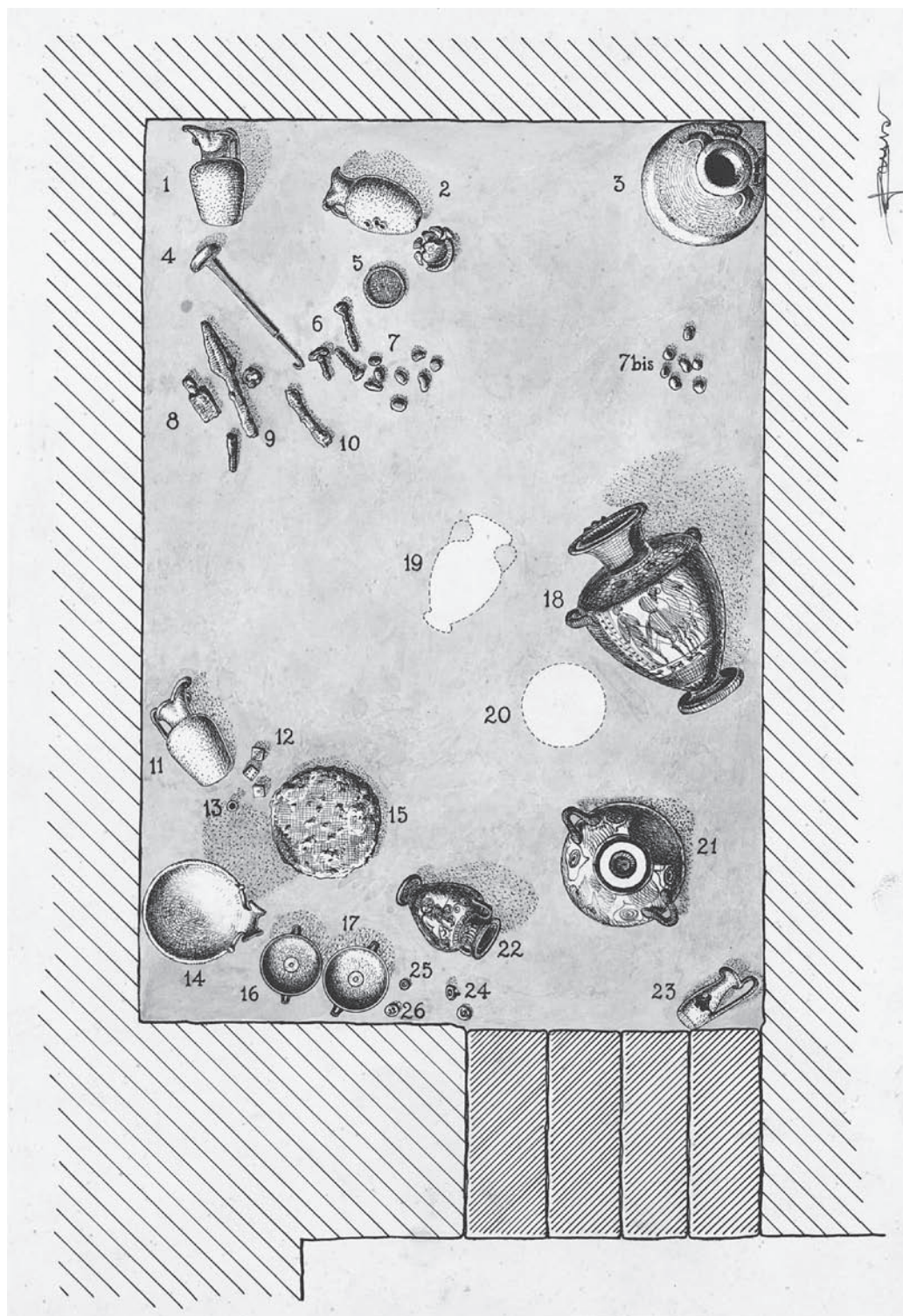


Fig. 4.14 Plan of Tomb 50, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 6054)



Fig. 4.15 Attic hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, Tomb 50, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 63612. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 232848)

often presumed, in at least some Etruscan communities they could appear in the graves of either gender.¹²² Its warrior imagery is consistent not only with the presence of weapons but with a larger tendency to favor these themes in Vulcian male assemblages, stretching back to the Early Iron Age. The particular significance of chariots has already been discussed.

The eye cup and amphora introduce a series of propitious deities. Triptolemos in his cart appears on both sides of the amphora, holding grain and a long scepter.¹²³ As noted earlier with respect to the Brygos Tomb (fig. 3.21), vases with the Mission of Triptolemos were popular in Etruria and Campania, with eleven black- and red-figure examples coming specifically from Vulci.¹²⁴ Here, Triptolemos is bearded, while the standing female figures accompanying him wear wreaths and grasp their skirts. The woman on one side holds a flower, but the one on the reverse does not; it is unclear whether both scenes show Demeter, or whether the woman with a flower is better understood as Persephone. As was discussed in connection with Makron's skyphos, an Eleusinian

reading related to cult is unnecessary in any case. If the amphora's owners identified the figure as Triptolemos and knew his role in the diffusion of agriculture, that alone would be significant, given the richness of grain cultivation in southern Etruria. Vei and Phersipnei had chthonic associations that may have been extended to Triptolemos.¹²⁵ It is also possible that the Etruscan viewer identified the male figure as someone else, possibly Fufluns; the lack of inscription on this amphora would have made such a reading easier.

The eye cup, the name vase of the Painter of Vulci T50 (fig. 4.16, diam. 29.7 cm), forms part of a group of about thirty with profile busts as the primary decoration.¹²⁶ Herakles and a pair of helmeted warriors appear between the eyes on each side, while surrounding each handle are two additional helmeted warriors and a bearded man. The significance of Herakles in Etruria has already been observed; another eye cup with profile busts from Vulci, attributed to Nikosthenes as potter, features overlapping busts of Herakles, Hermes, and Athena.¹²⁷ The identities of figures other than Herakles on the Tomb 50 cup have been disputed: the bearded man has been identified, for instance, as Theseus or else Iolaos.¹²⁸ Perhaps an Etruscan viewer would have seen him as Tinia, the Etruscan Zeus, while interpreting the pairs of helmeted warriors as the Tinas Clinia. Regardless of the



Fig. 4.16 Attic eye cup, name vase of the Painter of Vulci T50, Tomb 50, Osteria necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 530–520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 63613. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 28473)

precise identities, the cup's position in the assemblage contributes to a propitious, even apotropaic interpretation: it was found upside down near the chamber door, along with a small bronze olpe. The eye cup from the Tomb of the Kottabos (see below) was similarly discovered upside down near the tomb entrance. With so few assemblages to examine, one cannot discern whether this constitutes a pattern at Vulci, but perhaps the eyes of the kylikes inspired their placement near the liminal space of the threshold. The upturned position may itself be meaningful. An Attic black-figure eye cup attributed to the Painter of Tübingen D41 was discovered upside down inside a cistern or pit in the monumental complex of the Civita of Tarquinia, where it could have been an offering to chthonic deities and/or signaled the termination of use for vessel and cistern.¹²⁹ The juxtaposition of eye cup and olpe in Tomb 50 may mean that they were used in last libations before the tomb's closing.

Tomb of the Kottabos, Osteria Necropolis

The Tomb of the Kottabos is one of three chambers in a *tomba a cassone* discovered in 1998.¹³⁰ The smallest held a grave from the Hellenistic period, but the other two belong to the last decades of the sixth century: a male burial (Tomb of the Kottabos) and a female one (Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases). It is possible that the deceased were husband and wife, given their contemporaneity. Both burials contained rich assemblages, complete with utensils and other bronzes, objects for male or female use as appropriate (weapons, cosmetic items), and an assortment of Attic and Etruscan vases. In the Tomb of the Kottabos, the Athenian vessels include two red-figure cups, one larger and two smaller black-figure neck amphorae, and a black-figure hydria. Also in the tomb were two Attic Type C black-glazed cups, a large Etruscan bucchero kyathos, a so-called Samian transport amphora, assorted bronze utensils, small pebble-like glass objects in a range of colors, and a tall bronze object interpreted as a *kottabos* stand for drinking games.¹³¹

The larger of the two red-figure cups is an eye cup (fig. 4.17, diam. 34.4 cm), attributed to Oltos on the basis of style, decoration, and tondo inscription (*kalos Mem[m]non*, frequent in the painter's repertoire).¹³² It was found near the feet of the deceased and the chamber door, which may confirm an apotropaic function along with its obvious allusion to banqueting. A grazing horse appears on one exterior side, while the tondo features an ithyphallic satyr running and carrying a wineskin. Oltos' satyr finds good company elsewhere in the tomb, for Dionysian themes abound.¹³³ A second ithyphallic satyr crouches in the tondo of the tomb's other red-figure cup, while two satyrs with kitharas join Dionysos on the reverse of a black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group.¹³⁴ A satyr and a maenad appear on one of the small black-figure amphorae attributed to the Painter of Oxford 216, and Dionysos and a maenad on the other.¹³⁵ As part of the larger Dionysian *thiasos*, satyrs perhaps share the god's dual connection to wine and the afterworld; we have already seen them on two eye cups in Tomb LXXIX and the eye cup of Tomb 47. Multivalent in meaning, they evoke celebration while also being liminal creatures, poised between this world and the next.¹³⁶ They seem, in addition, to have served apotropaic functions, their heads decorating terracotta antefixes on temple simas: for example, on the Portonaccio temple at Veii. It is possible



Fig. 4.17 Attic eye cup attributed to Oltos, Tomb of the Kottabos, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A9/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131420. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 219730)

that satyrs' blatant eroticism as displayed on the two cups in the Tomb of the Kottabos functioned apotropaically within the tomb space, as has been suggested for the erotic couplings of Tarquinia's Tomb of the Bulls (figs. 3.2–3).¹³⁷

The cup's other exterior side features the only known image of Odysseus on an eye cup: hiding beneath a ram to escape from the Cyclops Polyphemos.¹³⁸ Odysseus and the ram appear on around fifty Athenian vases, most Late Archaic in date; many made their way to Italy, including two Little Master cups from Vulci.¹³⁹ The scene can also be found in Etruscan art, including a late seventh-century ivory pyxis from the Pania necropolis of Chiusi that demonstrates the early popularity of Uthuze/Odysseus in the region.¹⁴⁰ Oltos' cup shows a further elaboration in which Odysseus carries a sword as he escapes, pointing up his heroic status while prefiguring the ram's sacrifice to Zeus (cf. *Od.* 9.547–55). While the motif of Odysseus and the ram on sympotic/banqueting vessels celebrates the hero's *metis*, it also warns of the dangers of overindulgence, for the viewer knows that Polyphemos' drunkenness led to his blinding.¹⁴¹ The cup likely also held eschatological meaning for its Etruscan viewer, the escape from the Cyclops serving as a metaphor for overcoming obstacles and, by extension, safe passage into the afterlife. On the Pania pyxis, Uthuze's escape in

the upper register is juxtaposed with a chariot procession below, both signifying the journey of the deceased when the pyxis was placed in a funerary context.¹⁴²

The possibility that those who selected objects for the Tomb of the Kottabos read the eye cup this way is bolstered by the inclusion of two Attic vases depicting the Underworld. On a black-figure hydria attributed to the Priam Painter (fig. 4.18), Herakles places a chain around Kerberos' neck under the watchful gazes of Athena at left and Hades and Persephone in their palace at right.¹⁴³ Athena's outstretched arm gives encouragement, while Persephone's seems to grant permission, an iconographic variation unique to late sixth-century Attic vases that some scholars have linked to the festival known as the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries.¹⁴⁴ In keeping with the theme of journeying and perhaps with a subtext of mortality, the hydria's shoulder scene depicts a warrior's departure



Fig. 4.18 Attic hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, Tomb of the Kottabos, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A9/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131422. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 256380)

in a chariot, surrounded by other soldiers and a seated youth. The black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, meanwhile, presents an unusual scene of Hermes, Kerberos, and Hades on its obverse, minus Herakles himself (fig. 4.19).¹⁴⁵ Judging from his departing pose and upraised hand, perhaps Hermes has brought Kerberos back to the Underworld after successful presentation of the monster to Eurystheus.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps the Etruscan viewer(s) thought of these vases as a narrative pair.

The attribution of the Tomb of the Kottabos hydria to the Priam Painter merits further scrutiny, for a trademark appears under its foot (type 13E).¹⁴⁷ Johnston's catalogue reveals that nearly all hydriai carrying the 13E mark—whether alone or in combination with another mark—can be attributed to either the Priam Painter or the closely related A D Painter.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, all nine



Fig. 4.19 Attic amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, Tomb of the Kottabos, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A9/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131423. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 251260)

black-figure hydriai with 13E mark and known site come from Vulci, and those with unknown provenience stand a good chance of coming from there as well, based on their collecting histories. As seen elsewhere in this study, this suggests the trader's close connection to a particular destination, which in turn implies knowledge of local demand that could be relayed to the workshop. Indeed, if one looks closely at the iconography of the nine hydriai with 13E mark and Vulcian provenience, five feature Herakles and four have fountainhouse scenes (for which see chapter 5).¹⁴⁹ Even with a small group of vases, this does not seem coincidental. Perhaps trader 13E ferried information to the Priam Painter's *kerameion* not only about preferred vase shapes but also about preferred imagery.¹⁵⁰

Although the Tomb of the Kottabos is the focus here because of its Attic eye cup, one must emphasize the inclusion of an Etruscan amphora with eyes (fig. 4.7) in the adjoining chamber, the Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases, possibly occupied by the man's wife. Dimitris Paleothodoros argues that scholars should not assume that Etruscan viewers thought Attic vases superior to local ware, given the coexistence of Attic and Etruscan vases in known tomb assemblages.¹⁵¹ Similarly, we should presume that Etruscan eye vessels—although represented by shapes other than cups—would have been integrated into Vulcian tomb groups in ways similar to the Attic examples. The Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases contained an assemblage as seemingly intentional and thoughtfully arranged as that of the Tomb of the Kottabos, including Etruscan black-figure vessels with animals and monsters, as well as two Attic black-figure amphorae with Dionysian scenes and other Attic figured ware.¹⁵² Paleothodoros observes “a clear gender distinction in the choice of subjects” between the neighboring tombs in terms of the Dionysian scenes. The amphorae in the woman's tomb depict Ariadne or a maenad where the man's vases show satyrs, matching the gender distinction between their tomb goods—the woman's tomb featuring a mirror, the man's, weapons.¹⁵³ However, a vase with Herakles and Kerberos was also included in the woman's tomb (an oinochoe), showing that this particular subject, with its eschatological message of triumph over death, was not considered exclusive to men.¹⁵⁴

General Remarks on the Vulcian Tombs

Examination of these four Vulcian tombs with Athenian eye cups encourages some preliminary observations. Grave goods imply that three of them belonged to male occupants, while Tomb LXXIX likely also contained a male burial. This is consistent with the general tendency at Vulci and elsewhere in Etruria for kylikes to be associated with male burials.¹⁵⁵ In Etruscan funerary art, including Tarquinian tomb paintings and Chiusine funerary reliefs, kylikes are usually held by men.¹⁵⁶ The meager epigraphic evidence provides further support, as two Athenian eye cups with proprietary Etruscan inscriptions feature masculine family names. One of these, discovered at Vulci (diam. 28.0 cm), has images of Dionysos on its exterior and the retrograde genitive inscription *putinas* (“of Putina”) on its foot.¹⁵⁷ The second, a bilingual eye cup formerly in a private collection and referenced earlier in this chapter (diam. 33.5 cm), includes the name *ariana* on its foot, a masculine family name like *putina*, although in its uninflected form.¹⁵⁸

All four tombs included an oversized eye cup at least 28 centimeters in diameter, reflecting what appears to be a taste or need for larger kylikes in Etruria.¹⁵⁹ Of the 148 eye cups in the Vulcian corpus for which measurements have been obtained, 67 percent have a diameter of 25 centimeters or larger (99 of 148), while 45 percent have a diameter of 30 centimeters or larger (67 of 148).¹⁶⁰ Seven of the latter group have diameters greater than 35 centimeters, including one of the bilingual eye cups from the Radicetti/1973 Tomb, presumed from the inclusion of an iron spearpoint to have had at least one male burial.¹⁶¹ Although impractical for drinking and possibly connected instead to display and/or ritual, the eye cups in each case formed part of an assemblage that emphasized banqueting. It is tempting to suggest that the use and deposition of oversized cups (meaning cups larger than 25 centimeters in diameter, and especially those larger than 30) relates to the deceased's revitalization and even heroization.¹⁶² The "of Charu" inscription on the oversized bilingual eye cup perhaps also from Vulci (fig. 3.7) may indicate that deities were thought to participate in banquets; this might also explain some of the larger-sized cups.¹⁶³

Decoration is at least as important as shape and size. Five of the six eye cups (including the two smaller cups from Tomb LXXIX) feature either the god Dionysos or members of his *thiasos*—namely, satyrs. This is consistent with the prevalence of Dionysian imagery not only on Attic eye cups generally but among Attic eye cups found at Vulci. Bearing in mind the fragmentary condition of some cups, 64 of the 158 in the corpus (41 percent) show Dionysos and/or a satyr at least once.¹⁶⁴ The popularity of these motifs at Vulci may reflect local veneration of Fufluns as well as his eschatological associations. Heroic status forms another important theme, represented by the figure of Odysseus on the Oltos cup from the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.17), the profile busts on the cup from Tomb 50 (fig. 4.16), and even the horsemen (possibly read as the Dioskouroi) from one of the smaller eye cups in Tomb LXXIX.¹⁶⁵

Not present in this group of tombs or at Vulci in any substantial numbers are kraters.¹⁶⁶ To reconcile this shortage with the expectation that hellenized Vulcians imitated Greek sympotic practice, it has been suggested that bronze kraters were manufactured locally, but none have ever been found.¹⁶⁷ It has also been proposed that the large numbers of Attic hydriai discovered in Vulcian tombs—including Tomb 50 (fig. 4.15) and the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.18)—were employed as mixing bowls according to some local custom, but a hydria's closed shape makes that difficult to imagine.¹⁶⁸ By placing eye cups and other vessels associated with drinking and wine storage in tombs, the deceased's families evoked local banqueting practices, but they did not provide their loved ones with replications of Greek symposia. The presence of eye cups or any other kylikes in Vulcian tombs should not automatically be taken as signs of hellenization or even conscious emulation of Greek customs.

CONCLUSIONS

Especially in recent years, Attic eye cups have been persistently tied to the customs of the Athenian symposium and the elite milieu of sympotic play, and yet the earliest, largest, and highest-quality

(to modern eyes) examples come from Etruria, where the symposion as the Athenians knew it did not exist. With some exceptions (namely, fragmentary examples from the Agora and a few from Naukratis), surviving Athenian eye cups found in Greece and Greek-settled sites tend to be smaller and later in the series and to come mainly from sanctuaries. Most examples associated with banqueting come instead from non-Greek sites, not only in Etruria but elsewhere to the west and east. The contextual data caution us to avoid a narrow interpretation tied exclusively to the Athenian symposion and to consider meanings that take into account the distribution of eye cups, among other factors. The evidence suggests that workshops and traders were aware of the demand for these kylikes in different areas of the Mediterranean and targeted production and shipment accordingly.

That the Athenians themselves associated the Etruscans with eye cups is suggested by the only surviving vase to show an eye cup in action: a black-figure stamnos attributed to the Michigan Painter of the Perizoma Group, of unknown provenience but almost certainly from Etruria (fig. 2.7). As seen in chapter 2, Shapiro has proposed not only that Perizoma Group vases were targeted to the Etruscan market but that some scenes represent Etruscans as envisioned by Athenian painters, including banquets where men and women recline together.¹⁶⁹ One of the dancing men in the top register of this stamnos holds a large eye cup, its “face” turned toward the vase’s viewer. If Shapiro’s hypothesis is correct, this is how the Michigan Painter imagined eye cups: in Etruscan hands, part of an Etruscan feast. The stamnos may have come from Vulci, where two others by this painter were found in the nineteenth century; its earliest publication is an 1859 auction catalogue, pre-dating formal explorations at other sites where stamnoi from the Perizoma Group have been discovered.¹⁷⁰ The trademark ΣΟ on its foot (Johnston’s type 21A) is rendered in black glaze and was applied before firing, suggesting that the vase was preordered from the workshop. As noted earlier in this chapter, an oversized black-figure eye cup dating slightly earlier than the stamnos was marked with the graffito ΣΟ and sent to Vulci; trader ΣΟ therefore knew about eye cups in Etruria firsthand and was familiar enough with local demand to make a suggestion to the Michigan Painter, had he been so inclined.

Let us return to the eye cup by Exekias that opened this chapter (figs. 4.1–2). Exekias likely knew that the kylix would be exported, given his and his workshop’s (Group E’s) preexisting relationships with traders engaged with the Etruscan market and especially with Vulci.¹⁷¹ Its innovative features and high quality were certain to attract a trader and a faraway Etruscan buyer—even if the cup was not a special commission, which cannot be ruled out. Although Exekias crafted a new kind of Dionysian scene in the tondo, images of the god had long been featured on Group E vases. The cup’s foot was mended in antiquity, but because it is unclear whether the clamps were originally lead or bronze, it is unknown whether the repairs took place in Athens before transport or at Vulci.¹⁷² If done at Vulci, the repairs may indicate that the cup was initially displayed in its Etruscan owner’s home. Suspended on a hook or nail like the cups in the painted *kylikeion* of the Tomb of the Ship at Tarquinia (fig. 3.9), one of the combat scenes above the handles would have been quite

visible. Turned upside down on a shelf, like the painted kylikes of the Tomb of the Painted Vases (fig. 3.8), the eyes would have seized any passerby's attention. Indeed, one of the fictive cups in this latter tomb's *kylikeion* resembles a black-figure eye cup, and if the relative scale of the objects is to be trusted, it is quite large.¹⁷³ The size of the Exekias and other oversized eye cups implies that they may have been used for special occasions or domestic rituals, not everyday drinking.

Once taken from house to tomb and placed inside—after first being carried in the funeral procession and perhaps used for offerings—Exekias' kylix attained new significance through themes paralleled in other local mortuary assemblages: banqueting, status, protection, even the passage of the dead. The cup's face-like exterior protected the deceased and his tomb while granting a glimpse of the uncanny, not unlike stone sculptures of sphinxes and lions from an earlier Vulcian age. Scenes of combat and death under the handles alluded to heroism and the warrior ideology often celebrated at Vulci, but with a poignant reminder of mortality. It has been suggested that Exekias intended a purposeful juxtaposition between the exterior's battles and the interior's Dionysian exuberance, the latter meant to reassure the viewer of the epiphanic power of the god (and his wine) even in the face of death.¹⁷⁴ To an Etruscan viewer steeped in the chthonic associations of Fufluns (whose worship at Vulci is discussed in chapter 3), such a message was likely regardless of the painter's intent. It is also likely that a Vulcian viewer would have connected the iconography of Exekias' cup with the myth of the Tyrrhenian pirates; a slightly later black-figure hydria attributed to the Micali Painter's workshop depicts the moment of the pirates' transformation, when part-human, part-dolphin, hybrid beings are suspended between earth and sea.¹⁷⁵ Fufluns, they might infer, would help instigate the transfiguration of the deceased's *hinhial* and assure its safe passage.

This reading of the kylix from an Etruscan perspective is supported by what little is known of its tomb assemblage: namely, Luciano Bonaparte's account placing it with a black-figure amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 (fig. 4.20) and "quelques ornements d'or représentant des figures . . . qui sont d'un travail exquis" (the gold ornaments remain unidentified).¹⁷⁶ Like the eye cup, the amphora combines a Dionysian scene with an image evocative of war. Dionysos (holding a vine and drinking horn), a woman who may be Ariadne, two youths, and a draped man occupy one side; on the other, draped men and nude youths are joined by an armed soldier and a dog. The soldier wears his helmet and grasps his shield and spear as if ready for combat, and since he does not appear to be threatening the other figures, he may be leaving his home and family for battle. Even without the totality of the assemblage being known, these two vases alone suggest an intentionality on the part of the deceased's own family that complements other mortuary assemblages in this chapter. One thinks again of Oltos' Odysseus eye cup (fig. 4.17) paired with the hydria and amphora depicting the Underworld (figs. 4.18–19)—themes of liminality and passage being especially evident here—or of the four Attic vases with Dionysian imagery in Gsell's Tomb LXXIX (including the one shown in fig. 4.10). The Exekias cup and other vases were prized not only for their quality and innovation, but for their ability to function actively within the tomb context and express an Etruscan, even specifically Vulcian, worldview.



Fig. 4.20 Attic amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, from Vulci. Ca. 540. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1401. (Photo by Renate Kühling, © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek)

The Mastery of Water

AN OVERSIZED (32 CM) BILINGUAL KYLIX FROM VULCI, the name vase of the Painter of London E2 (fig. 5.1), plays with technique, space, and form while mingling themes of wine and the sea.¹ Ships and dolphins in black figure ride the waves on the interior rim, where they would appear to float if the cup were filled. In the tondo, a youth rendered in red figure struggles to lift a pointed amphora heavy with wine, its shape evocative of transport amphorae and a fitting juxtaposition with the ships.² A pointed amphora repeats on the exterior red-figure sides, where komasts enjoy its contents, its journey complete. Many scholars have noted how Attic vase painters interwove the motif of the sea with the function of vases as containers for wine, literal visualizations of Homer's "wine-dark sea" (*oinops pontos*). In an Athenian context, such imagery is tied to the symposion and a drinker's shifting consciousness as the revels proceeded, echoing similar sentiments in sympotic poetry and other texts.³

When transposed to an Etruscan tomb, Attic vases with marine and related iconography entered a world of funerary belief in which passage to the afterworld could be conceptualized as a voyage over water.⁴ The previous chapter opens and closes with Dionysos' triumphant ship as imagined by Exekias (fig. 4.2), and one does not need to look far to find other vases exported to Etruria that feature subjects linked to the sea, ships, or springs and fountains. Dionysos appears with a ship again on a black-figure amphora from a Tarquinian tomb, joined by satyrs and maenads in musical revels.⁵ As with other motifs discussed thus far in this volume, such imagery fit seamlessly into an already existing eschatological ideology and iconographic vocabulary. At Vulci, a connection between death and sea voyages was made manifest in sixth-century tufa sculptures showing humans riding hippocamps; further back in time, boat imagery appears on hut and biconical urns of the Early Iron Age. At Tarquinia, the eponymous ships of the Tomb of the Ship frescoes (discussed in chapter 3) may have done double duty, referencing the tomb owner's occupation as



Fig. 5.1 Attic bilingual kylix, name vase of the Painter of London E2, from Vulci. Ca. 510–500. London, British Museum E2. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY)

well as the imminent trip of his *hinthial*. As on the Painter of London E2's kylix, the ships were juxtaposed with a banquet. So too in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (also discussed in chapter 3), where the deceased woman waits to cross a river in the company of a Charon-like boatman while a banquet awaits on the back wall. Other images convey the sense of liminality and transformation more subtly. The Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca), for example, features men and youths catching fish and otherwise enjoying a watery landscape that wraps around the inner chamber to immerse the viewer.⁶ The figure of a diver leaping from rocks has been interpreted as both a sign of carefree leisure and a metaphor for the journey from one state of being to another.⁷

This chapter focuses on two types of scene common on Athenian vases exported to Etruria: images of Herakles wrestling Triton, the fish-tailed son of Poseidon, and images of fountains, where women and other figures fetch water in often elaborate architectural settings. In both cases, the

iconography can be shown to have an Athenian sensibility, perhaps a uniquely Athenian inspiration, and earlier scholarship has accordingly privileged an Athenian point of view. As with the eye cups discussed in the previous chapter, however, distribution data suggest an element of targeting to the Etruscan market that requires not only consideration of these vases from an Etruscan perspective but the recognition that Etruscan demand promoted their production. As masters of the sea in their own right, innovators of hydraulic technology, and firm believers in the sanctity of water sources, Etruscan consumers were a ripe audience for this imagery, and Athenian workshops happily obliged.

HERAKLES MEETS THE MERMAN

In the latter half of the sixth century BCE, scenes of Herakles wrestling a merman were common on Attic vases, appearing primarily on black-figure amphorae and hydriai and less frequently on other shapes like lekythoi, cups, or oinochoai, or in the red-figure technique.⁸ The merman (or sea monster, as some would describe him) is identified by inscription as Triton in some cases, marking a departure from similar, mostly earlier, images in which Herakles wrestles Nereus, the shape-shifting Old Man of the Sea (*Halios Geron*).⁹ The latter adventure, known from texts, occurred en route to the Garden of the Hesperides and involved Herakles' attempt to wrest knowledge of its location from Nereus. On vases, the encounter is specified by animal attributes suggesting Nereus' metamorphic capabilities, white hair and beard showing his age, and/or an inscription giving his name. Thus, on a red-figure kylix by Oltos from the Martini Marescotti Tomb at Caere (fig. 3.11), Nereus is named by inscription but is in human form as Herakles seizes him around the shoulders. Herakles' frontal face telegraphs the difficulty of the struggle. Triton, by contrast, consistently has a pisciform lower half and is much larger than Herakles; vase painters took advantage of this body shape to craft intricate compositions. On a black-figure hydria from Vulci (fig. 5.2), the entangled Herakles and Triton occupy most of the body and are framed by two couples: Poseidon (with his trident) and Amphitrite at left, an old man (surely Nereus) and a young woman, who may be one of his Nereid daughters, at right.¹⁰ A scene of the apotheosis of Herakles on the shoulder suggests the reward for the hero's many deeds. The adventure with Triton, however, lacks a known literary source, making it difficult to pinpoint when in Herakles' storied career it took place and the motivation behind the *agon*.

The relatively sudden appearance of Herakles wrestling Triton on figured pottery, the ease with which this otherwise unknown story superseded that of Nereus, and its equally sudden loss of popularity near the end of the sixth century have all inspired discussion of its significance within an Athenian context.¹¹ Compounding the puzzle are a pair of limestone pedimental sculptures on the Archaic Akropolis depicting the subject, which may bear some relation to the iconography on vases: either inspiring it directly or sharing a common meaning.¹² The older and more important is the group associated with the so-called Bluebeard Temple, also known as the H-building, thought to be the earliest monumental temple on the hill and dating ca. 570–560, around the time

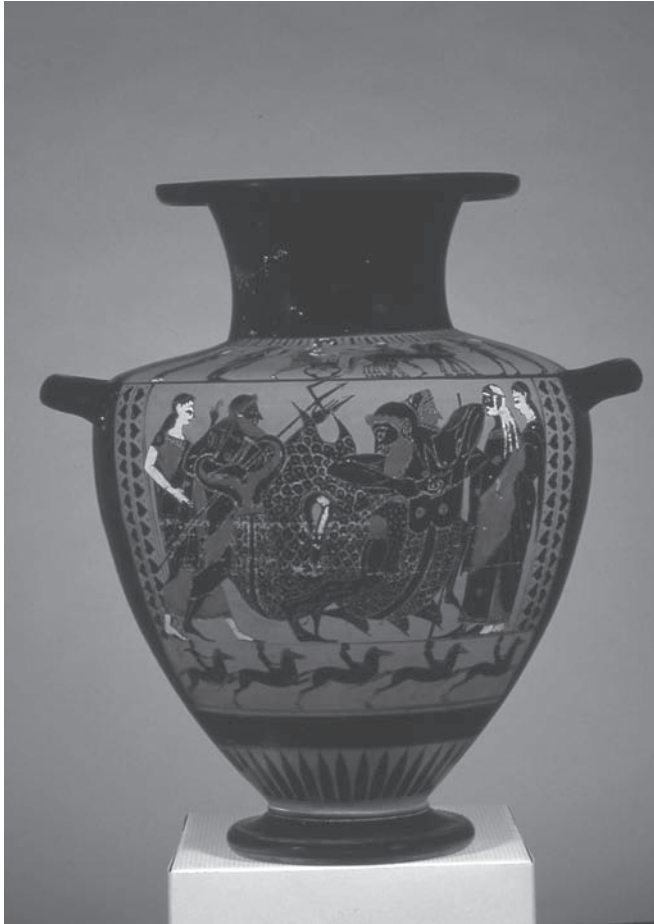


Fig. 5.2 Attic hydria attributed to the Painter of Vatican G43, from Vulci. Ca. 530. Toledo Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in memory of her father, Maurice A. Scott, 1956.69. (Photo courtesy Toledo Museum of Art)

of the reorganized Panathenaic festival (566). The Herakles/Triton pair may have occupied the outer edge of one pediment, balanced on the opposite end by the so-called Triple-Bodied Monster (“Bluebeard”), the center filled by a heraldic group of lions attacking a bull.¹³ During the 1970s and 1980s in particular, political interpretations of these sculptures and the vases dominated, linking the advent of the new motif to Peisistratos and his alleged penchant for Heraklean imagery. John Boardman suggested that the “new” *agon* emblemized and immortalized Peisistratos’ naval exploits against Megara, which secured Salamis for Athens and earned him *kudos* prior to his first tyranny, the eponymous hero Megaros being Triton’s half-brother.¹⁴ Following a similar line of thinking, Ruth Glynn proposed the Athenian seizure of Sigeion and subsequent control of the Hellespont as the Peisistratid catalyst for this imagery.¹⁵ Leaving aside the question of whether vase painters acted as mouthpieces for political leaders (an issue that likewise arises in the next section), these readings are complicated by the fact that the Bluebeard Temple appears to predate Peisistratos’ first tyranny

(560/559).¹⁶ Although we do not know who commissioned and funded the building, it cannot reasonably be linked to his specific achievements. Perhaps the pedimental pair conveyed Athenian mastery of the sea more generally, an appropriate theme that used the corner space well and managed to avoid depiction of Athena's rival, Poseidon. Its pedimental neighbors may likewise possess metaphorical meaning related to Athenian supremacy and even autochthony.¹⁷ For Athenian painters and viewers, the vases may have carried similar connotations, casting Herakles as a *potnios theron* who subdues the waters. The discovery of several vessels with this imagery on the Akropolis, where they may have served as votive dedications or ritual equipment, confirms the theme's local significance.¹⁸

Exclusively Athenian readings are scuttled by the fact that the majority of vases with this imagery were exported to Etruria, at least based on current distribution data. Of the nearly fifty black-figure hydriai which feature Herakles wrestling Triton on either the body or the shoulder, fewer than 50 percent have a known site, and none from Etruria have a documented findspot. However, among those with known site, twelve come from Vulci, five from Caere, one from Tarquinia, and one each from the Etrusco-Campanian cities of Capua and Nola. Of black-figure amphorae with this subject (sixty-eight according to my count), only twenty-six have a known site, but among these, thirteen come from Vulci, four from Orvieto, three from Tarquinia, two from Caere, and one from the Etrusco-Campanian site of Fratte. Many amphorae and hydriai lacking provenience are likely to come from Etruria, given their collecting histories. Only one hydria comes from a Greek city, the fragmentary example from the Athenian Akropolis cited above, while one amphora each comes from the sites of Satyrion, Syracuse, and Locri. Black-figure lekythoi with Herakles fighting Triton, meanwhile, while fewer in number, have a different distribution: three examples from the Athenian Agora, one from Corinth, one from Poseidonia (Paestum), five from Sicily (Morgantina, Gela, Agrigento, and Ragusa), and none from Etruscan sites. The subject appealed to Greeks for vases but was adapted for shapes more in keeping with Greek usage.

The case of Herakles/Triton iconography would seem to be an example of vase painters crafting a subject consonant with local Athenian concerns—in this case, perhaps inspired by the subject's appearance on the Akropolis temple—then adapting and multiplying it on export vases in response to demand from traders and faraway consumers for scenes of Herakles. Heraklean adventures were a sure thing for export vases: not only the more canonical labors (*athloi*) and deeds (*praxeis* and *parerga*)—like the Kerberos story (fig. 4.18) and the encounter with Nereus (fig. 3.11)—but also invented episodes, like scenes related to Herakles' apotheosis (namely, the hero's departure by chariot) and the struggle with Triton. It is possible that the export market promoted the genesis of new scenes out of a desire to provide novel products or new variations on familiar ones. The labors of the Keryneian Hind and the Amazonomachy, for example, are first attested among Attic vases on Tyrrhenian amphorae (e.g., fig. 2.5).¹⁹

The appearance of trademarks on many Triton amphorae and hydriai, just over a dozen of each, supports the notion that these vases were targeted to traders for export. To give a few examples, an amphora from Vulci recalling the Group of Toronto 305 carries a glaze dipinto with the mark of

trader ΣO (Johnston's type 21A), discussed in chapters 2 and 4 as an *emporos* particularly engaged with the Etruscan market.²⁰ Two hydriai, including one by the Priam Painter, carry the incised mark of trader 8E, which appears on numerous amphorae and hydriai sent to Vulci, many with scenes of Herakles; as noted in chapter 2, some scholars have theorized that trader 8E was Etruscan.²¹ The incised graffito of trader 9E (AP) can be found on an amphora and a hydria; this was another of the savvy traders who specialized in the shipment of these shapes to Etruria and whose pre-fired mark can be found on some vases, suggestive of special commissions.²² We can add to these three, all mentioned in chapter 2, trader 20A (ΣMI), whose mark appears on two amphorae and a hydria with the Triton scene.²³ As is true of traders 8E and 9E, his mark is found primarily on amphorae and hydriai, sent mostly to Vulci but also to other Etruscan sites, with a large number featuring Heraklean iconography.

As for the specifically Etruscan appeal of these images, scenes of Heracle (or another male figure) wrestling a merman are rare in Etruscan art; when they appear, they are influenced to a degree by imported Attic vases.²⁴ Scenes of a Triton/merman (whose Etruscan name seems to have been Tritun) alone or with other hybrid figures, however, sometimes pre-date Athenian imports and document a preexisting local interest in such creatures.²⁵ Tritons are frequent in funerary contexts, their corporeal liminality emphasizing the fluid boundary between this world and the next. At Tarquinia, two so-called *lastroni a scala* from the early to mid-sixth century—stone plaques that decorated tumuli or stairways connected to tumuli—feature single figures of Triton, while others depict centaurs, sphinxes, and similar monsters.²⁶ Three sixth-century painted tombs in Tarquinia's Monterozzi necropolis include Tritons in the pediments, particularly charged areas where liminal and/or apotropaic figures can often be found. In the Tomb of the Tritons (Tomba dei Tritoni) and Stefani Tomb, they appear on the entrance wall, emphasizing the boundary between living and dead; in the latter, the fragmentary remaining Triton is joined by a frontal-faced panther, another creature that, while not hybrid in its form, was frequently cast as a liminal being.²⁷ The third tomb, the Tomb of the Sea (Tomba del Mare), has two chambers; the pair of Tritons appear in the pediment above the door leading into the inner room, followed on each side by a hippocamp. In all these instances, Tarquinian painters utilized the Triton's undulating form to fill the triangular space, not unlike what the sculptor(s) of the Bluebeard Temple had done.²⁸

Relevant for the many Triton-themed vases imported from Attica are two Etruscan black-figure hydriai produced by the Group of the Micali Painter; their provenience remains unknown, but they are likely to come from tombs at Vulci. The first, discussed in chapter 4, depicts Triton carrying a fish across its shoulder; on the body is an Etruscan variation of the metamorphosis of pirates into dolphins following their fateful encounter with Dionysos.²⁹ A second hydria likewise carries a Triton on its shoulder and, on its body, a procession with a young man in a chariot and others running before and after (fig. 5.3).³⁰ In a tomb context, this scene would be equated with the passage of the deceased, making the juxtaposition with Triton particularly meaningful. Triton himself is shown in a uniquely Etruscan form, the fishtail merged with an otherwise human body. Given the ubiquity of local and imported hydriai in Vulcian tombs, it is possible that the

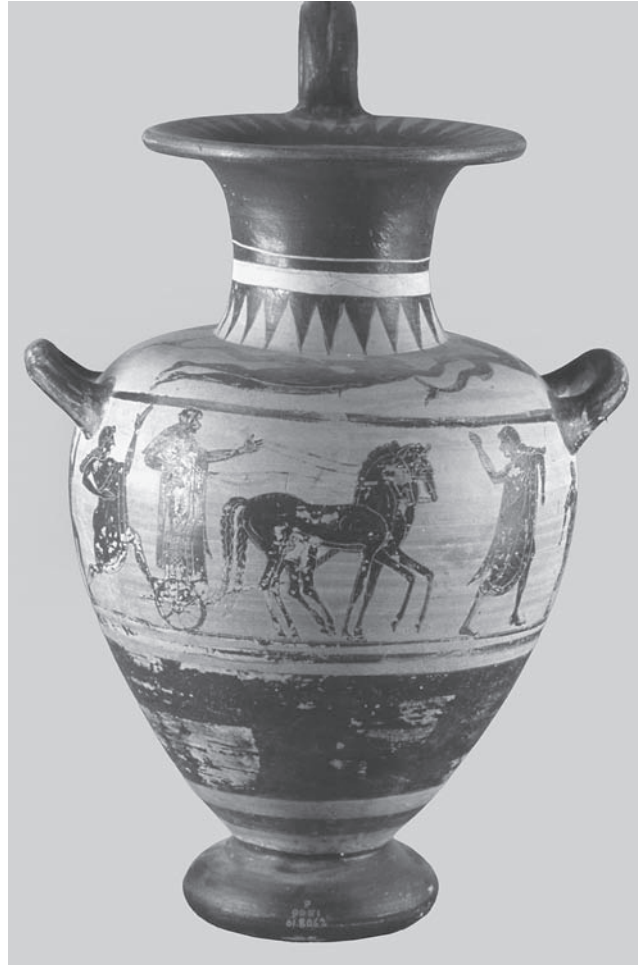


Fig. 5.3 Etruscan hydria close to the Micali Painter. Ca. 500. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8062. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Micali Painter's workshop produced them specifically for funerary use, with their imagery reflecting funerary concerns.³¹

In none of these instances, or others besides, does Triton appear as a threatening or otherwise malevolent figure. Even on a hydria from the Micali Painter's workshop where a nude male hero (perhaps Heracles) wrestles the merman, the struggle seems evenly matched, and no indication is given that he is a fearsome creature to be dispelled.³² The same has been observed for images on Athenian vases: aside from the *agon* with Herakles, Triton's other, later appearances are as a helpful sea creature who escorts Theseus to the home of Poseidon and Amphitrite.³³ Heide Mommsen has stressed that although Triton is described in Hesiod's *Theogony* (930–33) as *deinos*—a word sometimes translated as “fearful” or “terrible”—the term can also mean “strong” or “powerful” in a neutral or even positive sense.³⁴ Herakles' contests with Triton could involve the hero's seeking

information, maybe even directions to the Garden of the Hesperides, as was the verifiable case with Nereus. Elsewhere in the literary tradition (but not the visual one), Triton assists the Argonauts (Herodotos 4.179).³⁵ This reading of this particular adventure would consider Herakles less an *alexikakos* ridding the earth of dangerous monsters and more a hero who seeks secrets from a powerful nature deity. In an Etruscan funerary context, scenes of Herakles wrestling Triton on Attic vases—and Nereus, too—may have been read as another example of overcoming obstacles on a voyage, a metaphor for passage into the afterworld.

None of the Herakles/Triton amphorae or hydriai from Etruria have a known findspot and assemblage where this hypothesis can be tested. The best example of such a vessel in context is instead a lip cup from Tarquinia (ca. 550) that, at 32.2 centimeters in diameter, dwarfs other Little Master lip cups (figs. 5.4–5).³⁶ It equally departs from the majority of such kylikes in having decoration both inside and out: Beazley called this type of vessel a LIO cup (Lip Cup—Inside—Outside).³⁷ As Pieter Heesen has noted, first-generation Little Master cups like this one were



Fig. 5.4 Attic lip cup attributed to the Xenokles Group, from Tarquinia. Ca. 550. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC4194. (Photo: Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY)

largely exported to Etruria and environs in central Italy, and LIOs, too, although a small corpus, were mostly sent to this area.³⁸ Because of its exceptional size and all-encompassing decoration, it is possible that the cup was intentionally produced for either dedication in a sanctuary or deposition in a tomb. Perhaps the workshop who made it or the trader who handled it (or both) knew that it would go to Etruria.³⁹

Wolfgang Helbig describes the kylix's original location in the 1881 *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*: a chamber tomb about two meters square, whose interior contained a simple painted frieze in red and black.⁴⁰ Stone benches against the left and right walls held the inhumed bodies of the deceased, their feet facing toward the door, and the tomb itself was oriented eastward. Helbig says that no objects sat upon the left bench, but the "grande tazza a figure nere" lay at the feet of the deceased to the right. Identical images appear on each of the cup's exterior sides: a racing chariot between Doric columns in the upper register, two sphinxes and the precisely lettered inscription *Chaire kai piei eu* ("hail and drink well") below (fig. 5.5). Given the cup's size,



Fig. 5.5 Attic lip cup attributed to the Xenokles Group, from Tarquinia. Ca. 550. Detail of fig. 5.4. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC4194. (Photo © DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, NY)

this particular inscription, more often found on cups of much smaller diameter, seems ironic as much as festive.⁴¹ The cup's interior contains the intertwined *agon* of Herakles and Triton (fig. 5.4), for which the painter made effective use of the monster's body and the tondo's circular space. A ring of seventeen maidens, likely Nereids, grasp hands and dance around this central group, their movement punctuated by nonsense inscriptions and opposing that of the wrestling match. The threefold appeal of the cup's iconography to an Etruscan viewer is apparent: racing chariots evocative of funeral games (which would later appear on the walls in such spaces as the Tomb of the Olympic Games at Tarquinia and Tomb of the Casuccini Hill near Chiusi); Heracle and his struggle against obstacles, personified by the hybrid merman; liminal sphinxes serving as mediators and sentinels. At a time when painted figural decoration of Tarquinian tombs was still rare (assuming that the burial is roughly contemporary with the cup), the kylix supplied a set of images reminiscent of those appearing on stone *lastroni a scala* elsewhere at the site and in some ways foreshadowing paintings to come.

Helbig closes his description of the tomb with the cup's contents: "Nella tazza si trovarono alcuni bottoni ed una fibula di bronzo, che non si sono potuti conservare, perchè del tutto scomposti dall'ossido."⁴² The lost *bottoni* recall the set of glass pebble-like objects mentioned in the previous chapter from the Tomb of the Kottabos at Vulci, not to mention dice and other small objects that may have been meant as gamepieces, placed in other Etruscan tombs (e.g., Tomb 50 at Vulci). The lost fibula may indicate that the *bottoni* were wrapped and pinned in a textile. Their special treatment raises questions: were they simply gamepieces, or were they used for cleromantic divination? Divination was otherwise a critical practice for the Etruscans, who undertook many different kinds: *hieroskopia*, as mentioned in chapter 2, and divination based on the flight of birds, thunder and lightning, and reflective surfaces such as mirrors or pools of liquid. Cleromantic divination, involving the drawing or casting of lots, seems likewise to have been an Etruscan practice.⁴³ Elsewhere I have revived a nineteenth-century theory that the well-known scenes of Achilles and Ajax "gaming" on Attic vases instead depict the heroes engaging in divination prior to battle; many of these vessels, including the Exekias amphora from Vulci and multiple examples from Tarquinia, had been exported to Etruria and were discovered in tombs there.⁴⁴ Was the Tarquinia Triton kylix used as a divination instrument along with its *bottoni*, or even for *lekanomanteia* (divination based on a reflective liquid surface)? Was Triton seen as a prophetic figure like Nereus, and did that belief grant the cup a particular power? Without other assemblages for comparison, we can push this theory no further, but the abundance of Herakles and Triton vases sent to Etruria leaves no doubt of their significance in some local respect.

FOUNTAINHOUSE HYDRIAI AND THE ETRUSCAN *Culto dell'Acqua*

In both of the 1829 catalogues of vases discovered on his property at Vulci, Luciano Bonaparte discusses a black-figure hydria that was later sold to the British Museum by his wife, Alexandrine (fig. 5.6).⁴⁵ Discovered in a subterranean chamber of the Cuccumella tumulus in March of that



Fig. 5.6 Attic hydria attributed to the A D Painter, from Vulci. Ca. 520–510. London, British Museum B329. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/ Art Resource, NY)

year, the hydria features on its shoulder Athena and Herakles in combat, perhaps against Kyknos, while the body depicts an elaborate fountainhouse. Details of the structure are carefully articulated, with four Doric columns, entablature in alternating squares of black and added white, and five waterspouts: two in the form of lions' heads that frame the scene, two shaped like horsemen, and the fifth in the center shown as a frontal-faced lion or panther. Among the columns are four women and five hydriai, each jar sitting beneath a gushing spout, each woman decorating the fountain with wreaths and branches. Three of the women have inscribed names: Iope, Rhodopis, and Kleo. The painter—identified by Beazley as the A D Painter, although some have linked this vase to the Priam Painter instead—took advantage of the hydria's shape to create a rhythmic composition in which the lines of columns, women, waterspouts, and jars march across the field, as does the added white of female figures and architectural details. Asserting its Etruscan craftsmanship,

Bonaparte gave the hydria's subject as "le peristyle étrusque" and cited authors who attributed the invention of peristyle buildings to the Etruscans, rather than the Greeks.⁴⁶

Approximately seventy-five hydriai in black and red figure, of the shoulder type like this one and the more rounded kalpis shape, feature scenes related to fountainhouses and the fetching of water.⁴⁷ As with the Herakles and Triton hydriai, the majority were exported to Etruria. The series begins in the 530s, and the earliest examples show no building but instead a procession of women with water jars. Fountainhouses appear almost immediately, however, and artists such as the Antimenes and Priam Painters relished filling the expansive body of vases with architectural forms and beautifully dressed female figures. Indeed, fountainhouse scenes rank among the few images dominated by women in black-figure iconography. The popularity of this subject on black-figure shoulder hydriai extends to the end of the sixth century, when this shape and technique both lost popularity in favor of red figure and the kalpis form. Few red-figure kalpides depict a fountainhouse (an exception by Hypsis is discussed later in this chapter), partly due to the change in shape and the accompanying challenges of the compositional space. The fountainhouse theme does appear on other black- and red-figure vases, lekythoi being most numerous after hydriai, as well as some amphorae, epinetra, and oinochoai. Their chronology mirrors that of hydriai to an extent, although, as with Triton imagery, a difference in distribution is apparent. Lekythoi with known provenience, rendered in both black and red figure and sometimes with a white ground, come from Greek sites in Attica, elsewhere in mainland Greece (e.g., Rhitsona in Boeotia), south Italy (e.g., Taranto), and Sicily (e.g., Gela)—places where lekythoi were more common and used for funerary purposes.

Like the Herakles and Triton scenes, fountainhouse imagery has almost always been considered from an Athenian perspective, despite the numerous Etruscan exports.⁴⁸ One common approach has been to compare pictorial fountainhouses with actual architecture.⁴⁹ Here the substantial variability in representation presents difficulties: often Doric but occasionally Ionic columns; water-spouts in the form of lions, panthers, horsemen, and/or satyrs; pedimental decoration sometimes present but more often not. It is difficult to imagine that the painters were all depicting the same structure, and it may not even be a real structure; more likely, they varied details based on compositional needs and artistic desires. The images appear to contradict everyday practice in other ways: for example, by showing women placing hydriai beneath the spouts, when the majority of fountains had basins for dipping.⁵⁰

The timing of the appearance of fountainhouse hydriai has led many scholars to link them with Peisistratid fountain construction, as referenced by Herodotos, Thucydides, and Pausanias.⁵¹ Thucydides, for example, mentions a nine-spouted fountain called Enneakrounos, which he places at the Kallirhoe spring near the Ilissos River (and, by extension, the Archaic Agora) and which he says received "embellishments by the tyrants" (2.15).⁵² Thucydides explains that its water "was used for the most important occasions . . . and even now, according to ancient practice, its water is used for ceremonies prior to weddings and other sacred rituals."⁵³ It is presumed that he alludes to the bridal bath: the waters of the spring were believed to both purify and promote fertility. Two black-figure fountainhouse hydriai feature "Kallirhoe" inscriptions: a fragmentary example

found on the Akropolis, which simply includes the name “Kallirhoe” (see further below), and one from Vulci with KAAIPEKPENE unfolding before its lion-headed spout and specifically naming the *krene* (“spring” or “fountain”).⁵⁴ The latter scene further includes the inscription *Hippokrates kalos* and five names among the six young women: Simylis (used twice, perhaps naming two girls), Eperate, Kuane, Euene, and Choronike. The Hippokrates in question has been identified by some scholars as a member of the Alkmaionid family and brother of Kleisthenes or, more hypothetically still, as a grandson of Hippias and great-grandson of Peisistratos.⁵⁵

Even if these two vases call the spring by its ancient name, none refer to the Enneakrounos, and the lack of iconographic consistency noted above makes it unlikely that the hydriai all depict the Kallirhoe *krene*, at least not authentically. The Enneakrounos itself has never been excavated, making comparison with the actual building impossible. A surviving fountainhouse long thought to be Peisistratid and therefore linked to the vases by some scholars—the Southeast Fountainhouse in the Classical Agora—has been established as fifth-century in date (just before ca. 480 at the earliest), so it was built after the series of black-figure hydriai ended.⁵⁶ It is possible that the flurry of fountainhouse scenes was inspired by the Enneakrounos or other sixth-century fountains in the sense that monumental *krenai* were viewed as architectural novelties and sources of civic pride. However, designating the fountainhouse hydriai as political propaganda in support of the Peisistratid regime is more tenuous, especially since the series continued, albeit briefly, after the regime’s end.

Other scholarly investigations have emphasized not the fountainhouses, but the women on vases who are shown going there: their social status, motivations for visiting the fountainhouse, and the relationship (if any) between the scenes and ancient texts that describe women’s activities. These sorts of discussions grew from the 1970s and 1980s forward as part of a larger interest in representations of women in Greek art and the roles of women in Greek society. Like images of woolworking, adornment, and other female activities, the fountainhouse scenes became an opportunity for scholars to mine iconography for hints about women’s lives. The fact that the women are well-dressed yet performing manual labor in public to some has seemed incompatible with the status of so-called respectable or citizen women, as has the inclusion of names in some instances (like the examples given above) and *kale* inscriptions labeling certain figures as “beautiful.” The women must be *hetairai*, some have argued, pointing as well to the inclusion of men in some scenes.⁵⁷ Others have described the women as slaves who could be *pornai* for their masters.⁵⁸ Visual cues that would conclusively identify them as slaves, however, are lacking, save for a red-figure hydria of kalpis shape attributed to the Aegisthus Painter and dating from ca. 470.⁵⁹ Of unknown provenance but formerly in the Campana collection (which may suggest Caere), the vase depicts three women before a grotto-like fountain. They contrast with those in other fountainhouse scenes by having short hair, which is more consistent with images of slaves, and tattoos on their arms, which often indicate Thracians.⁶⁰ The Early Classical date of this kalpis sets it apart from the main series.

An alternative, more persuasive reading sees the female figures not only as “respectable” but, more specifically, as *parthenoi* or *nymphai*, young women of marriageable age whose transitional status places them between child and matron.⁶¹ Various details are highlighted in support of this

interpretation: the young women's stylish dress, their long and unbound hair, the flowers and branches they sometimes carry or use to decorate the fountains, the deer present in some scenes, which may evoke the goddess Artemis, the association of fountains with mythical *parthenoi* like Polyxena and Amymone, and even their names, which often relate to flowers (e.g., Rhodon), horses (e.g., Kallippe), or beautiful and sweet things in general (e.g., Gluke and Kallis). They have been compared in appearance to Akropolis korai, embodiments of *charis* (grace) and *kosmos* (order, harmony).⁶² *Kale* inscriptions need not designate *hetairai*: on a black-figure hydria, a married couple in a chariot have the inscriptions *Lysipides kalos* and *Rhodon kale* over their heads ("Rhodon" also being a name that appears on fountainhouse hydriai); and on a red-figure alabastron, a young man is accompanied by the inscription *Timodemos kalos* and the young female woolworker before him by *he nympe kale*, "the bride is beautiful."⁶³ In a variation of the *parthenoi* reading, Eleni Manakidou suggests that the women on fountainhouse hydriai belonged to aristocratic families, while Gloria Ferrari argues on the basis of the Kallirhoe designation on two hydriai and a passage in Herodotos (6.137.3) that the scenes represent the Athens of earliest times.⁶⁴ Herodotos claims that early Athenian sons and daughters visited the Enneakrounos before the Greeks had slaves and were on occasion assaulted there by the Pelasgians, who had to be driven from the city. Ferrari suggests that the few scenes where men are at the fountain and seem to be annoying the women relate to this story. Lise Hannestad, meanwhile, uses the same passage to bolster her own identification of the women as "respectable" Athenians, but contemporary with the vase painters.⁶⁵

An extension of the *parthenoi/nymphai* interpretation connects their fountainhouse visits to ritual, and even to specific occasions like the rite of the Hydrophoria, part of the Anthesteria festival, which took place each spring and celebrated the new wine.⁶⁶ The Hydrophoria is said by some (late) sources to have taken place on the festival's third day (known as Chyrtoi, after pots used in some capacity) and involved carrying water in honor of those killed in the Great Flood.⁶⁷ The identification of this occasion with the pots stems from one particular black-figure hydria attributed to the Priam Painter and found at Vulci. The hydria's body shows three young women inside a fountainhouse, while framing the building are larger-scaled figures of Hermes and Dionysos (fig. 5.7).⁶⁸ Although this hydria could have evoked a very specific ritual for an Athenian audience (its Etruscan viewers would have seen something quite different), the majority of fountainhouse scenes would have conjured many possible associations: for example, fetching water for bridal baths. Girls and women served as *hydriaphoroi* in many different circumstances, and although fountainhouse scenes seem deliberately ambiguous, some manner of ritual occasion fits the iconography best.

Four vases with fountainhouse imagery and known Athenian findspot support a ritualistic reading. Three were found on the Akropolis in the nineteenth century: two fragmentary hydriai (one a shoulder hydria, the other of kalpis shape), and a fragmentary epinetron. The shoulder hydria fragments as preserved show five *parthenoi* approaching a fountain at left with lion-headed waterspout and KAAIPOE inscription above.⁶⁹ Other names appear beside the girls: Elanthis, Gluke, a partial Rho- (which could have been Rhodon or Rhodopis, as in other examples), and Kallis. The kalpis fragment preserves part of a fountain with lion-headed spout, this one at right, and a young woman



Fig. 5.7 Attic hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, from Vulci. Ca. 520–510. London, British Museum B332. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/ Art Resource, NY)

with a cushion on her head, who must be filling her jar.⁷⁰ The epinetron fragments depart from the norm by showing a nude young woman bathing at the fountainhouse, while another (dressed) young woman stands nearby with a jar in her hand; this object's presence on the Akropolis challenges the assumption that all nude women on Attic vases of this period must be *hetairai* (see more in this chapter's Conclusions).⁷¹ The findspots of the vases are not given in Graef and Langlotz's catalogue of Akropolis vessels, so it is unclear whether they were used at the sanctuary or brought up as part of construction fill during fifth-century construction works. The hydriai may have served as ritual vessels as well as dedications.⁷² The epinetron's association with textile production would make it an appropriate gift for Athena Ergane (the Worker), while the subject matter might point to Artemis, also venerated on the hill.⁷³ The young woman bathing could evoke the bridal bath; a public bath at a fountainhouse seems unlikely, but perhaps the fountain was meant to be equated

with the Kallirhoe spring. We can add here the fourth fountainhouse vase with known Athenian findspot, a fragmentary black-figure loutrophoros from the Sanctuary of the Nymphe on the Akropolis south slope.⁷⁴ Certainly a dedication in honor of a wedding and associated with the bridal bath through its shape, the loutrophoros shows young women processing toward a fountainhouse where a winged figure appears—possibly Nike, although since she (?) appears to wear a nebris, she could be Artemis.⁷⁵

It is possible that vase painters intended the young women of fountainhouse scenes as visual plays on the dual meaning of the Greek words *nymphē* and *nymphai*: not just young women as brides or brides-to-be (of which the Athenian deity Nymphe seems to be a personification) but the semidivine beings who protected springs and fountains and were capable of granting good things to mortals.⁷⁶ On the fragmentary shoulder hydria from the Akropolis discussed above, it is not clear whether “Kallirhoe” refers to the fountain or the young woman who fills her jar there, which would make her the nymph of the spring.⁷⁷ Guy Hedreen observes that the names of some girls on fountainhouse hydriai recur in Dionysian scenes where they designate nymphs.⁷⁸ More than the Anthesteria/Hydrophoria, perhaps this explains not only the presence of Dionysos on London B332 (fig. 5.7) but that of Hermes, who likewise keeps company with *nymphai*. Hermes appears with a procession of six young women with branches, presumably nymphs, on a hydria akin to the Antimenes Painter and exported to Vulci, while another, attributed to the Leagros Group (also from Vulci), shows four such women with Hermes, Dionysos, and Apollo.⁷⁹ A desire to understand better the daily lives of Athenian women has led scholars to assume that the young women at fountainhouses must be mortal, but for Athenian viewers and/or the vase painters themselves, this need not have been the case.

However one reads these vases from an Athenian perspective, the fact remains that the majority of fountainhouse hydriai were exported, especially to Vulci. Over thirty are known to come from that site, while others that feature certain trademarks and/or were acquired on the art market at certain points in time (e.g., the late 1950s and early 1960s, when looting was rampant) likely do as well. Several fountainhouse hydriai were discovered during the Bonaparte and other excavations of the eastern necropoleis, including three in chambers of the Cuccumella tumulus (e.g., fig. 5.6).⁸⁰ Others derive from the Campomorto necropolis to the south and the Osteria necropolis to the north, although few have documented findspots. Over twenty-five fountainhouse hydriai lack provenience, complicating discussion of distribution. Even so, a gap exists between the number of known Vulcian hydriai and those from other sites: only two from Caere, for instance, and four fragmentary examples from Athens, including the two from the Akropolis.⁸¹

Mercantile trademarks under the feet of many fountainhouse hydriai—neglected in previous studies—support the impression of directed trade to Vulci, if not targeted production as well. Two carry the ΣΟ trademark of the possible Sostratos (type 21A), cited multiple times here as a trader who worked actively with the Etruscan market and cultivated relationships with specific Athenian *kerameia*.⁸² One hydria remains unattributed, but the other belongs to the Antimenes Painter, several of whose vases bear the ΣΟ mark. Another two fountainhouse hydriai, one with a

definite Vulcian provenience and the other with a likely one, have type 8E under their feet, a mark discussed in chapter 2 as appearing on Euphronios' Arezzo krater (fig. 1.1), as strongly associated with Vulci, and as possibly indicating an Etruscan trader.⁸³ Trader 8E's mark also appears on two Herakles and Triton vases, as noted in the previous section. Perhaps most strikingly, five fountainhouse hydriai by the Priam Painter (or the A D Painter, who seems somehow related) bear mark type 13E, seen also on the Priam Painter's Herakles hydria in the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.18). Four of these have a known Vulcian provenience—including London B329 and B332 (figs. 5.6–7) and an example from the Tomb of the Necklace, discussed below—and the fifth likely comes from Vulci as well.⁸⁴ Trader 13E's mark appears predominantly on hydriai by the Priam Painter and reveals close ties with that workshop. Even if fountainhouse imagery had a local inspiration and was tied to Athenian civic concerns in some way, it was quickly adapted for export vases, production multiplying with foreign demand.

Although the popularity of Attic fountainhouse hydriai at Vulci has been noted, few scholars have ventured a specifically Etruscan interpretation. Sian Lewis suggests that fountainhouse scenes were meant for female viewers in Etruria, and, more particularly, that fountainhouse hydriai were meant for female graves.⁸⁵ Athenian workshops, she proposes, intended this subject as a balance to martial and heroic male themes on other exported hydriai. Viktoria Sabetai observes that the scenes "must have been recognizable in the Etruscan cultural context" and adds, "It is possible that the viewing context of fountain hydriai was the Etruscan wedding . . . hydriai with imagery ascribing notions of ideal femininity and dangerous liminality to maidenhood may have been further perceived as a metaphor for *mors immatura* in the case of the funeral of an *aoros*."⁸⁶ Sara Brunori proposes a similar connection with Vulcian nuptial ritual and further notes the role of Etruscan elite women, including their participation in banquets where hydriai may have been used.⁸⁷

While compelling, none of these interpretations takes into account documented tomb assemblages at Vulci that included fountainhouse hydriai. There are only four, but their diversity demonstrates broader use for these vases than as wedding vessels and equipment for female graves. Following discussion of the assemblages, I propose a distinctively Vulcian association for the hydriai, tied to the so-called *culto dell'acqua*: a local reverence for water sources and the deities associated with them.

Tomb of the Necklace, Osteria Necropolis, Vulci

The Tomb of the Necklace (Tomba della Collana, Tomb A7/1998) is the only one of the four Vulcian tombs to fit the paradigm Lewis, Sabetai, and Brunori imagine for fountainhouse hydriai in Etruria, although none of the three discuss it.⁸⁸ One of two chambers in a *tomba a cassone* (the second was damaged before archaeologists arrived), the Tomb of the Necklace was determined by its excavators to belong to a female who had died at a young age.⁸⁹ Her inhumed remains lay along the left-hand wall, and she was buried with a fine assemblage consistent with the social persona of an upper-class girl or young woman, possibly one who died before marriage. Grave goods consisted of Attic black-figure pottery, an Attic black-glazed kylix (both of its handles missing), an

oversized bucchero kyathos likely of local manufacture, bronze vessels and other utensils also likely of local manufacture, a plain bronze mirror, and a gold-and-glass beaded necklace. The styles of pottery and other objects suggest that the tomb dates from the end of the sixth century.

The Attic black-figure pottery includes a fountainhouse hydria attributed to the Priam Painter (fig. 5.8), an amphora possibly attributable to the Leagros Group, a pair of smaller amphorae, a pair of oinochoai, a pair of kyathoi, and a pair of lekythoi.⁹⁰ The repetition of shapes across the assemblage is matched by a repetition of subjects. Peleus wrestling Thetis can be found on the hydria's shoulder and one of the oinochoai; Amazons appear on the large amphora, one of the smaller ones, and a kyathos; Herakles on the large amphora and both kyathoi (wrestling the Nemean Lion on one of the latter); and Dionysos on both of the smaller amphorae and a lekythos. The second lekythos shows a woman mounting a chariot, who possibly represents Dionysos' consort, Ariadne, but who may have been read as the deceased herself, passing into the afterworld. The second oinochoe features Odysseus beneath the ram, a subject also found in the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.17) and one that, like Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, epitomizes the overcoming of obstacles.



Fig. 5.8 Attic hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, Tomb of the Necklace, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A7/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131390. (© MiBAC—Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

As for the Amazons, the deposition of three vases with this subject cannot be coincidental. In the context of a girl's or woman's grave, warrior women may represent untamed females and evoke the deceased's unmarried state; such would be the likely interpretation from a Greek perspective. However, given the appearance of Amazons on mirrors, sarcophagi, ash urns, and other Etruscan funerary objects in later centuries—especially for women—we cannot rule out an *interpretatio etrusca* that sees Amazons differently: for example, as positive role models for virtue and female leadership.⁹¹ Athenian awareness of Etruscan demand for this subject, if not full understanding of its Etruscan interpretation, may explain its prevalence on exported vases. As Seung Jung Kim has recently stressed, the Heraklean Amazonomachy represents by far the most common subject on the Tyrrhenian Group's vases (e.g., fig. 2.5), which implies a particular desire to reach Etruscan consumers and some form of insider knowledge to assist.⁹² Later workshops—like the Leagros Group, possibly represented by the larger amphora in this tomb—may have followed their example in continuing to represent these scenes.

The impression that the deceased's family gathered vases with a conscious eye to both shape and subject is supported by the range of trademarks on five of them. The Priam Painter's hydria carries Johnston's type 13E as well as 21C, but the large amphora features type 20E under its foot, a mark that appears on a few Leagros Group vases. One of the smaller amphorae has types 11E and 14E, while both oinochoai carry the same symbol, a possible variation of Johnston's type 10C. Judging from the marks, the oinochoai possibly traveled and were acquired as a pair, but the other vases may not have either traveled or have been purchased together.

The hydria (fig. 5.8) may have served as a ritual object during the deceased's lifetime or else was acquired especially for her funeral and grave. Although published in 2001 with the rest of the assemblage, it has not been included in subsequent studies of fountainhouse scenes.⁹³ As in other examples, the fountainhouse occupies most of the body. It features Ionic columns, two lion-headed waterspouts, and an entablature indicated in added white and articulated with would-be metopes. Three young women stand within the intercolumnar spaces, two filling their hydriai and the central figure moving animatedly without a vase in hand. Two others balance hydriai on their heads and frame the scene. All the maidens have long hair and wear chitons, himations, and necklaces, while vegetal branches are tucked under their arms or into their garments.

The shoulder scene, though unmatched in the known corpus of fountainhouse hydriai, proves appropriate for its juxtaposition with the scene below and the tomb assemblage. In it, the mortal king Peleus attempts to wrestle the sea goddess Thetis into submission as four Nereids take flight.⁹⁴ As in other black-figure depictions, Thetis' identity is clarified by a panther and reptile that emerge from her person and represent her shape-shifting powers. Compositionally, the panicked fear of five maidens on the hydria's shoulder contrasts with the lighthearted gathering of five maidens on its body. The vase's female viewer was perhaps to be reminded of how carefree girlhood passes and marriage takes its place. In the Tomb of the Necklace, the fountainhouse and Thetis scenes together may serve as poignant reminders of the deceased's eternal status as an unwed maiden. The selection

of the hydria to convey this message is suggested by the additional inclusion of an oinochoe with a truncated version of the same story: Peleus seizing Thetis as a Nereid runs away.

In Etruscan art as in Greek, the story of Pele (or Peleis) and Thetis served as a paradigm for marriage, the literal transformations and successful capture of Thetis symbolizing a young girl's change in status.⁹⁵ A quartet of bronze mirrors from the late sixth and early fifth centuries portray various moments in their courtship, ranging from pursuit to outright wrestling.⁹⁶ None have a documented findspot, but, like the majority of mirrors in this period, all four would have come from tombs and possibly belonged to female deceased.⁹⁷ Thetis' metamorphoses are suggested by the inclusion of wings, bearded serpents, or lions, and on two of the mirrors (examples in Florence and Vienna), a lion-headed spout gushing water places the action at a fountainhouse or sanctuary, a detail not found in surviving Attic scenes. Similarly absent from Greek art is a scene on a fourth-century mirror in which the nude Thetis prepares for her wedding, gazing at herself in a mirror as a startled Pele enters her chamber.⁹⁸ Nancy de Grummond suggests that his surprise stems from what he glimpses in her mirror—a prophecy of dire events to come—and, indeed, Etruscan mirrors have been ascribed a prophetic function that might explain their popularity as marriage gifts and grave goods.⁹⁹ One of the earlier Pele/Thetis mirrors in a Japanese private collection carries the inscription *mi malana larthiia cavis spuriix*; it is not clear whether the included name is male or female, but the inscription has been read as: "I am the wedding gift of Larth Cavi Spuriie [to his bride]."¹⁰⁰ The conceptual link between this myth and marriage strengthens the hypothesis that for the Tomb of the Necklace, the Priam Painter's hydria was chosen for its scenes as much as its shape. One also recalls the deposition of an undecorated mirror, which, if the deceased is a girl who died young, may represent the wedding gift that she will never receive from a mortal husband and obtains from death instead.

The presence of Peleus and Thetis imagery in the tombs of Etruscan girls or women finds parallels in Athens, although on shapes more consistent with the home market.¹⁰¹ Among the ten figured lekythoi and alabastra of Kerameikos Tomb 278 (S 27), for instance, is a black-figure alabastron on which Peleus wrestles Thetis in the presence of Cheiron.¹⁰² The deceased's gender, though unconfirmed, is presumed to be female based on the alabastra, which in Athens appear in female graves. Kerameikos Tomb 242 (HTR 38II) contained a black-figure tripod pyxis that juxtaposes Peleus and Thetis with the Judgment of Paris (these two episodes appropriately part of the same myth) and the Birth of Athena.¹⁰³ It was paired with a second pyxis that juxtaposes Theseus and the Minotaur with women working wool, as well as a bronze mirror that all but confirms the grave as a woman's.¹⁰⁴ Finally, we may note a red-figure pyxis from a child's burial (Tomb 57, HTR 95) that omits Peleus and Thetis, yet obliquely references their courtship through a group of running Nereids (identifiable by the inclusion of dolphins) in the presence of an altar and a palm tree.¹⁰⁵ In the fifth century, pyxides were overwhelmingly associated with women, and Stefan Schmidt suggests that they were used as wedding gifts; in this instance, as postulated for the young deceased in Vulci's Tomb of the Necklace, the child may be married to death.¹⁰⁶ These examples and others show the

adaptability of the Peleus and Thetis motif to a variety of shapes and its adoption by both Athenians and Etruscans as meaningful imagery within a tomb context.

Two Chamber Tombs near the Cuccumella Tumulus, Vulci

In the 1883 *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Wolfgang Helbig describes two *tombe a cassone* neighboring one another near the Cuccumella tumulus in the eastern necropolis.¹⁰⁷ The first and largest contained three chambers, each with a skeleton and assorted local and imported objects scattered on the floor in a previous disturbance.¹⁰⁸ Certain objects suggested male dead in all three burials: a bronze sword in the second room, ivory dice in both the second and third rooms, and bronze plow tools in all three, which Helbig calls by the Latin term *rallum*. In his later account of his own excavations, Stéphane Gsell observes that a *rallum* appears to be typical of male graves in this area of the cemetery.¹⁰⁹ The second chamber further contained an oversized (diam. 36 cm) Attic red-figure kylix, as yet unidentified; as seen in chapter 4, oversized cups were associated with male burials at Vulci. The cup's exterior included combat scenes on one side (which Helbig identifies as a Gigantomachy) and pairs of youths and maidens on the other (together with an older man), while an ithyphallic satyr filled the tondo.

The third chamber, which contained the most objects at the time of discovery, featured a red-figure hydria of kalpis form with a fountainhouse scene (fig. 5.9).¹¹⁰ The fountainhouse, with its articulated roof, fills the composition. Two back-to-back spouts—one a satyr's head, the other a lion's—stream water in the center. Two young women flank the fountain, one holding up her jar, the other waiting as the lion spews fresh water into her hydria. The latter figure lifts the train of her gown with one hand, while in the other she holds the cushion she will place upon her head. A trio of inscriptions complete the scene: "Dionysia" is written retrograde to the left in front of the satyr's head spout, while "krene" appears in front of the lion spout. Hypsis signed his name to right, although with neither *epoiesen* or *egraphsen*.

The reference to Dionysos in this and other fountainhouse scenes helped inspire the Anthestesia interpretation noted above, according to which the women are preparing for the Hydrophoria. Such a reading may have been true for an Athenian viewer, but for the Etruscan owners there would have been other associations. "Dionysia" (presuming the inscription could be read by the Etruscan owner) recalls the chthonic nature of Fufluns/Dionysos as revered at Vulci and elsewhere, as well as the god's association with fecundity and regeneration. The satyr whose head appears on the spout may have been read not as a satyr but as the river-god Achlae/Acheloös; Helbig gives the figure that name in his description of the scene.¹¹¹ As a shape-shifting, powerful god of rivers, Achlae was an apotropaic figure in Etruria; hence his appearance in the paintings of the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (fig. 3.3) and, in other tombs, in the form of amulets and furniture bosses.¹¹² The depiction of his head as a waterspout on the hydria may have called to mind the conquest of nature, a theme celebrated in Athenian vases and Etruscan mirrors that show Heracle/Herakles encountering the god. An Attic red-figure stamnos with Herakles wrestling Acheloös, signed by



Fig. 5.9 Attic hydria signed by Hypsis, from Vulci. Ca. 510–500. Rome, Torlonia Collection. Drawing after J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 2:123.

Pamphaios as potter and attributed to Oltos as painter, was found in a tomb at Caere in the early nineteenth century.¹¹³

A pair of Attic female head oinochoai were included in the assemblage.¹¹⁴ Sold on the art market after discovery, they are now in St. Petersburg and Berlin (fig. 5.10), both signed down the handle by Charinos and standing at nearly the same height (27.7 and 27.0 cm respectively).¹¹⁵ Although some have associated female head oinochoai with Athenian symposia, most with known findspots come from graves and sanctuaries, many in Etruria.¹¹⁶ Among these is another example signed by Charinos and discovered in a Tarquinian tomb.¹¹⁷ Broken into fragments and in a disturbed context, it was found with a (likewise broken) oversized red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter (diam. 33 cm) and depicting scenes likely from the Trojan War cycle: combat on one side and what might be the arrival of Paris at Troy on the other.¹¹⁸ The latter scene includes an older man seated in a building with a phiale, probably King Priam in the palace, while another old man with phiale appears in the tondo (Priam again?), together with a young woman holding

an oinochoe for libation.¹¹⁹ The actual cup and the head oinochoe may have been used for ritual libation. Other female head oinochoai with Etruscan funerary contexts include one found in Tomb 546 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at Caere, and a nearly matched pair from Tomb 128 of the Valle Trebba necropolis at Spina.¹²⁰ We have no way of knowing whom the women were thought to represent in Etruria, although it is tempting to associate them with Vei, Phersipnei, or both. As will be seen below, another pair of head oinochoai were found at a Vulcian shrine thought to be dedicated to Vei.



Fig. 5.10 Attic head oinochoe
signed by Charinos, from Vulci.
Ca. 500–490. Berlin, Staatliche
Museen, Antikensammlung F2190.
(Photo by Johannes Laurentius/bpk
Bildagentur/Staatliche Museen/Art
Resource, NY)

In addition to these vessels, Helbig saw a “gran quantità” of bucchero and Attic black-figure fragments and describes three reassembled black-figure amphorae, at present unidentified. All had Dionysian scenes that reinforce the Dionysian subtexts of the fountainhouse hydria, and all featured imagery related to travel or departure. The first (h. 52.0 cm) showed Dionysos holding a kantharos among satyrs and maenads on one side; on the other, Herakles (minus his lionskin but carrying a club) and Iolaos rode in a chariot proceeding to right. Athena and Hermes were part of this latter scene, together with an older bearded figure.¹²¹ The second amphora (h. 43.5 cm) had on its obverse a woman in a chariot (Ariadne or Semele?) and Dionysos on foot, holding a kantharos; Dionysos was repeated on the reverse with satyrs and another female figure. Helbig drew a trademark from the base of this second amphora that equates to Johnston’s type 13E, already cited for vases belonging to the Tomb of the Necklace and Tomb of the Kottabos.¹²² The third amphora, more fragmentary, showed Dionysos climbing into a chariot on one side, preceded by a goat, and the departure of warriors on the other.

About three meters to the north of this Vulcian *tomba a cassone* lay the second tomb with a fountainhouse hydria described by Helbig.¹²³ It had only one chamber and had likewise been disturbed. Helbig notes a stone bench along the left-hand wall with the jumbled bones of an inhumed body, while on the floor were an iron *rallum* and ivory dice. In addition to these items, which may suggest a male occupant, Helbig describes bucchero fragments and two Athenian black-figure vases, a hydria and an “anforetta,” presumably a small amphora (h. 30 cm). Neither piece is identified today; they may remain in a private collection. The “anforetta” was of a style “più rilassato” in Helbig’s estimation and showed a beardless kithara player, clad in a himation and facing right, standing between two women. Helbig also mentions an older man wearing a chiton at left. This vase was damaged, and Helbig does not describe any other figures.

The unidentified hydria (h. 43 cm) was of the shoulder type and, according to Helbig, of “escuzione accurata.” On its body, a fountainhouse with Doric columns appeared at the scene’s right edge. One woman tucked her hydria under its panther-headed waterspout as five others conversed. Helbig says that some of the five balanced full hydriai on cushions on their heads, while the others had empty jars turned horizontally for easier transport. Although his description does not correspond to any hydria known to scholars today, it recalls examples by the Antimenes Painter and Leagros Group sent to Vulci.¹²⁴ The lost hydria’s shoulder scene featured three horsemen armed with spears—one helmeted, the other two not—fighting against two hoplites. This too recalls many of the fountainhouse hydriai exported to Vulci, which frequently had masculine, heroic imagery on their shoulders when of that form. As Lewis emphasizes, when a hydria was picked up, the shoulder scene was more visible than the body scene to the person handling the vase.¹²⁵ The body scenes that scholars tend to privilege may have been considered subsidiary to those on the shoulder, or at least seen as equally important. Certainly it seems that Athenian painters intended thematic connections between shoulder and body.¹²⁶ Perhaps in hydriai like this one we are meant to see two kinds of *arete* in Athenian terms, and possibly Etruscan terms as well: the masculine *arete*

associated with success in warfare, and the feminine *arete* that comes from looking after domestic affairs, participating in ritual, and even presenting a pleasing appearance.

Società Hercle Tomb 137, Marrucatello Necropolis, Vulci

During an excavation campaign undertaken by the Società Hercle after reports of looting in the area (1961–63), approximately 170 tombs dating from the Villanovan through Roman periods were uncovered in the Marrucatello *località* north of the ancient city. Tomb 137, a single-chambered *tomba a cassone*, was discovered in December 1962; its assemblage featured Attic,



Fig. 5.11 Attic hydria
with fountainhouse scene,
from Vulci. Ca. 520–510.
Copenhagen, National
Museum of Denmark
14930. (Photo by Niels
Elswing CC-BY-SA, ©The
National Museum of
Denmark)

Ionian, and bucchero vessels, together with bronze and iron remnants of metal vessels and decayed wooden furniture.¹²⁷ The tomb's cursory publication does not reference any human remains, but the presence of three Athenian eye cups suggests that the deceased was male (for the presumption that figured kylikes were mainly placed in male graves at Vulci, see chapter 4). The black-figure fountainhouse hydria in this grave departs from others previously discussed in having more strongly masculine iconography, even in the fountainhouse scene itself (fig. 5.11).¹²⁸ In the predella, Herakles wrestles the Nemean Lion in the presence of Athena and Iolaos, while the shoulder scene appears to show the departure of warriors. A young man mounts a chariot in the center as two young men walk behind with horses and three figures at right watch the proceedings.

The fountainhouse occupies most of the available space on the hydria's body. It has five Doric columns, a triglyph-and-metope frieze, and a pediment with animal combat scene. Inside, a standing naked youth showers under one waterspout, while two bearded, squatting naked men wash under two others. They all stand upon bases, which led to their identification as statues in the tomb's initial publication; however, this seems unlikely. A similar squatting male figure appears on a fountainhouse hydria in Madrid.¹²⁹ Three female figures appear in the Copenhagen scene: between the central two columns is one woman whose hydria sits beneath a spout, while two with hydriai on their heads frame the building. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the juxtaposition of male and female figures here and in other fountainhouse scenes has inspired the suggestion that the women must be *hetairai*. There is no iconographic hint that the female figures are prostitutes, however, and they look no different from young women who appear in other scenes. The painter has spatially separated them from the male figures, and it seems likely that he intended to show the fountainhouse's multiple functions: a place for women to gather water but also for men to wash. The men's nudity recalls athletics and the *palaistra*, an impression heightened by another black-figure hydria from Vulci, the Antimenes Painter's name vase, where two men wash in a fountainhouse and four others oil themselves under trees.¹³⁰ The aryballoi and chlamydes hanging in the tree branches confirm these men as athletes.¹³¹ There is no reason to suppose the men on the Copenhagen hydria to be anything different, in which case themes of *agon* and even *arete* carry into this scene as well.

Water Imagery and Cult: General Remarks

Documented Vulcian tomb assemblages with fountainhouse hydriai establish the significance of this motif for both male and female deceased. The distribution of scenes is not tied to gender: the young and possibly unmarried woman in the Tomb of the Necklace received a hydria whose scene depicted only women at the fountain, but so did the seemingly male deceased in two chamber tombs near the Cuccumella tumulus. Hydriai in general were not limited to women's graves at Vulci, as seen in Tomb 50 (fig. 4.15) and the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.18); we are invited to look beyond the stereotype of linking this shape and its decoration predominantly to women, at least in this community. Expanding urbanization in Etruria and the development of new hydraulic technologies—innovations like *cuniculi* that permitted more efficient agricultural irrigation and therefore an expansion of crops, like vineyards for winemaking—may have helped promote

the popularity of fountain imagery. As for the Athenians at the same time, the successful mastery of water for human concerns may have inspired civic pride and made fountainhouse imagery timely.

And yet Vulci had its own special connection with water that may better explain the popularity of hydriai in graves—not only the imported Attic hydriai that arrived in large numbers, but also figured hydriai produced locally, like those of the Micali Painter's workshop (fig. 5.3). At least two shrines located on the fringes of the city between the necropoleis and the world of the living were dedicated to the *culto dell'acqua*, meaning divinities connected with water and the honoring of water itself as a regenerative and life-giving force. Such respect for bodies of fresh water—whether manifest as lakes, rivers, or springs—was a crucial practice in Etruria from earliest days.¹³² One of the excavated shrines at Vulci lies beside the river near the eastern necropoleis, not far from the Cuccumella tumulus, the Fontanile di Legnisina.¹³³ Excavated in the mid-1980s, the sanctuary consisted of a temple, an altar that may have done double duty as a fountain, and a votive deposit, all located near a small natural grotto. The votives included bronze figurines of men, women, and children; terracotta figures of the same; and terracotta anatomical models of uteri, breasts, and what are likely abstract phalloi. These finds suggest that the shrine was linked with male and female fertility and with regeneration, while additional finds of small, plain bowls and cups further imply that libation and/or drinking formed part of the rituals. The shrine is believed to be associated with Uni and Vei, with the votives and structures dating from the first half of the fifth century into the Hellenistic period. The grotto itself may have served as a sacred place earlier.

A second shrine—discovered in the late 1920s during the Ferraguti–Mengarelli excavations of the Osteria necropolis—lies a short distance from Tombs 47 and 50, discussed in chapter 4. Known as the Carraccio dell'Osteria and likewise situated beside the river, this shrine featured votives dating from the sixth century through the Hellenistic period and, like the Fontanile di Legnisina, received architectural elaboration during its history.¹³⁴ Votives included bronzes and terracottas; the anatomical models among the latter are similar to those of the Fontanile di Legnisina. This area is also thought to have been sacred to Vei, who as noted in earlier chapters had a chthonic dimension in Etruria, in addition to being linked with fertility. A shrine in the Cannicella necropolis of Orvieto, which also seems to have incorporated a water source in its design, celebrated Vei as a liminal figure standing between the living and the dead.¹³⁵

Noteworthy for this study are a trio of Attic vases from the Carraccio's votive deposit: a pair of female head oinochoai dating from ca. 440–420 and a fragmentary sphinx rhyton signed *Sotades epoiesen* (ca. 470–460) that in its original state likely resembled the Brygos Tomb example (fig. 3.24).¹³⁶ Pouring vessels imply libation as a ritual practice, and clearly the dedicants chose objects that were meaningful in iconography as well as shape. The liminality of the sphinx has been discussed multiple times in this volume—represented not only at the Brygos Tomb but also at Vulci in the form of stone sculptures at the thresholds of tombs and on vases inside (cf. the Little Master cup in Tomb 47, described in chapter 4). The matched female head oinochoai recall the pair in the Cuccumella-area tomb discussed above (fig. 5.10). Head oinochoai are known from Etruscan sanctuaries as well as graves, including a votive deposit at Gravisca, where the honored deity is also

thought to have been a chthonic goddess like Vei.¹³⁷ The frequency of female head oinochoai and janiform female kantharoi at sanctuaries dedicated to female deities has been observed not only in Italy but at Greek sites like the Athenian Akropolis, Brauron, Eleusis, and Aegina.¹³⁸

The idea that Vulcian viewers associated hydriai (Attic or otherwise) with the *culto dell'acqua* provides a stronger explanation for their popularity than the alternative suggested by some scholars: that hydriai were locally employed as mixing vessels for the banquet in place of kraters.¹³⁹ The appeal of fountainhouse imagery becomes obvious, as does that of the scenes that accompanied them on shoulder hydriai. Of the twenty-six black-figure fountainhouse hydriai with known Vulcian provenience (including two scenes with men alone at the *krene* and one with men and women together), sixteen feature some kind of generic battle scene on the shoulder, whether hoplite combat, combat including a chariot, or warriors who appear to be departing for war in chariots. Three have scenes of Herakles: two in which the hero wrestles the Nemean Lion, one showing combat with perhaps Kyknos. Herakles and the Lion fight in the predella of two others. Appearing once each in this group of vases are a Gigantomachy, Achilles and Ajax gaming (or performing divination), Dionysos with satyrs, an assembly of gods (including Dionysos and Hermes), and Peleus wrestling Thetis (the Tomb of the Necklace hydria, fig. 5.8). When juxtaposed with fountainhouse scenes, paradigmatic scenes of combat encapsulate themes of masculine, elite *arete*, as noted earlier in this section. To the Vulcian viewer for whom the *culto dell'acqua* meant regeneration in the face of death, the two scenes together may have provided comfort and supported belief in the *hinhial's* continued existence.

Herakles' appearance on imported hydriai gains further significance for Etruscan viewers through his role as a guardian of springs, expressed on Etruscan gems and mirrors where he presides over gushing water.¹⁴⁰ Votives connected with Herakles have been found at some shrines of the *culto dell'acqua*, including a fourth-century bronze statuette at Vulci's Fontanile di Legnisina.¹⁴¹ Etruscan shrines connected with Herakles can have a water basin or some other water feature incorporated into their design, most notably at Sant'Antonio at Caere, where the Euphronios/Onesimos Ilioupersis cup served as a dedication (figs. 1.3–4). It may not be coincidental that at least two, perhaps three, fragmentary Attic head oinochoai of the Cook Class similar to those found at the Carraccio dell'Osteria were found at Sant'Antonio during official excavations; based on these and other female-type votives, the Caere sanctuary may have had a female deity such as Menerva or Vei accompanying Herakles.¹⁴²

An Attic black-figure shoulder hydria attributed to the Priam Painter comes close to depicting Herakles as guardian of springs. On it, he lunges toward a fountainhouse and seizes a large snake as an unsuspecting young woman (or nymph) fetches water.¹⁴³ Athena stands at left with Herakles' chariot, and although there is little to identify the narrative, most scholars have associated this scene with the hero's adventure at the Garden of the Hesperides.¹⁴⁴ The shoulder shows a banquet in progress, and although the upper parts of the figures are mostly missing, perhaps we are meant to understand Herakles among them. It should surprise no one that this hydria was found at Vulci in the early nineteenth century, nor that it carries under its foot the 13E trademark borne by many

Priam Painter vases, including five fountainhouse hydriai.¹⁴⁵ Specializing in both fountain scenes and images of Herakles, perhaps the Priam Painter thought this rather exciting scene would appeal to customers abroad.

CONCLUSIONS

The multichambered Martini Marescotti Tomb (Tomb 610) in the Monte Abatone cemetery of Caere included three Attic vases with water-related imagery among the many deposited inside.¹⁴⁶ The oversized Oltos cup (fig. 3.11) was found in fragments near the tomb's entrance, where it may have been used for a final libation. The sacrificial scene on one side suited this purpose, while the *agon* between Herakles and Nereus on the other conveyed the power of Herakles and signaled the liminal space of the tomb. The theme of a contest with a shape-shifting sea deity continued on a black-figure hydria found in one of the two back chambers, on a stone bench that lined the back wall between two stone couches.¹⁴⁷ Here, Peleus wrestles Thetis between a fleeing young woman at left, presumably a Nereid, and an old man at right, who must be Nereus. The shoulder scene depicts a hunt in progress, two youths running from the edges toward an alarmed deer in the center. This subject metaphorically complements the wife-seeking Peleus' attempt to overcome and tame Thetis, who can transform herself into an animal, no less. With its paradigm of marriage, the hydria suits the burial assemblage of the couple likely interred in the chamber.¹⁴⁸

In the same room was found a black-figure amphora attributed to the Priam Painter (h. 53.9 cm), whose innovative scenes have earned much discussion (figs. 5.12–13).¹⁴⁹ Its obverse features Dionysos seated on a stool and holding a kantharos in the midst of a vineyard replete with grapes. Seven satyrs clamber through the branches to pick grapes for the already-overflowing baskets below, a variation on the popular theme of vintaging satyrs. On the reverse, seven nude young women, their skin indicated in added white (now flaked in places), enjoy a trip to a lake among the trees: swimming, diving, washing their hair. Their clothes hang in the branches, as do aryballoi filled with scented oil. Based on their pairing with Dionysos, most scholars have identified them as nymphs, and certainly nymphs would be appropriate inhabitants of such a landscape. Others have described them as young *parthenoi* on an innocent outing, girls on the brink of adulthood, as has been hypothesized for the fountainhouse scenes. An alternative reading casts them as young Spartan girls, whom Athenians stereotyped as athletic and indifferent to their own cultural norms.¹⁵⁰ Warren Moon, in contrast, focused less on the precise identity of the female figures (although he said they were “perhaps nymphs”) and compared the scene to Tarquinia's Tomb of Hunting and Fishing.¹⁵¹ In a funerary context, the theme of abundance celebrated on both sides of this amphora provided a reassuring message much like that of the Tarquinian fresco, with the motif of swimming and diving perhaps serving as a metaphor for passage into the afterlife.

This interpretation is supported by consideration of a red-figure column krater with scene of women bathing (fig. 5.14), found in the Arnoaldi necropolis of Felsina (Bologna), where it served as a cinerarium and the lone object in Tomb 46.¹⁵² Such images appeared around 500, as

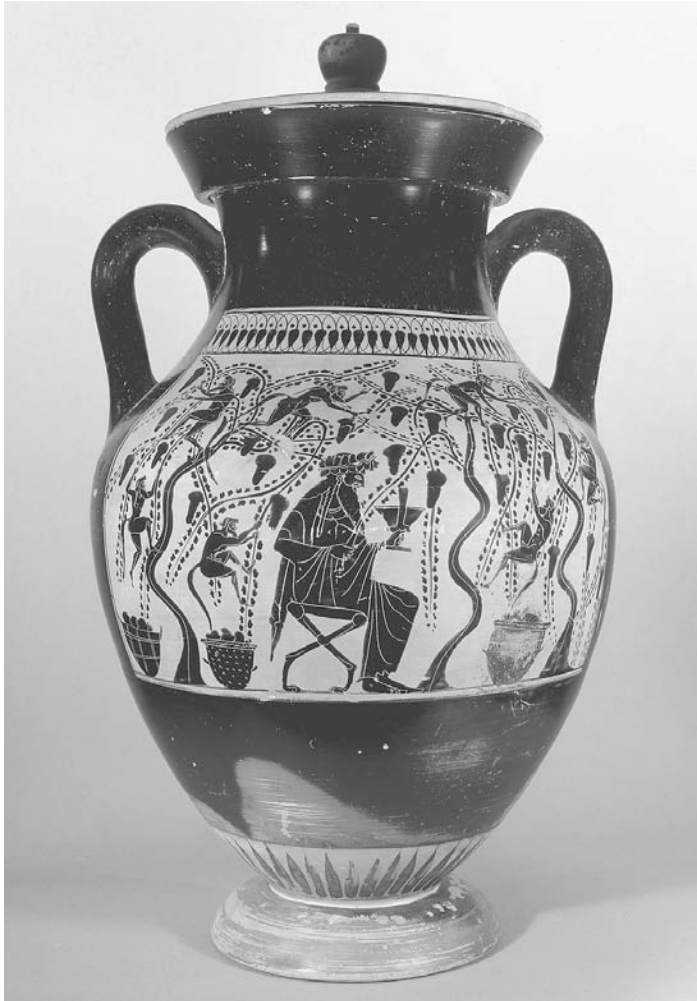


Fig. 5.12 Attic amphora attributed to the Priam Painter, Martini Maescotti Tomb, Monte Abatone necropolis, Caere. Ca. 520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 106463. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

fountainhouse scenes began to fall out of fashion, and persisted through much of the fifth century, perhaps reflecting red-figure painters' interest in exploring the human body.¹⁵³ Except for part of one handle, much of this krater's upper portion is missing; the remainder shows signs of ancient repair, suggesting that it may have been salvaged for funerary use. The primary scene shows three women grouped around a *louterion*, or stand basin: a nude woman at left carrying a mirror, another nude woman at center with an alabastron, and a draped figure to right extending a pair of boots. The inscription *kale* decorates the *louterion* in large letters. Similar compositions appear on other red-figure column kraters as well as hydriai and stamnoi. Among vases with a known Etruscan provenience (although not a known findspot), one can mention a column krater from Cortona attributed to the Painter of Tarquinia 707 and a stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos and



Fig. 5.13 Attic amphora attributed to the Priam Painter, Martini Marescotti Tomb, Monte Abatone necropolis, Caere. Ca. 520. Reverse of fig. 5.12. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 106463. (Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

found at Vulci.¹⁵⁴ All three women are naked on the latter vase; the central figure is shown with frontal face as she brushes her hair with one hand and holds an alabastron in the other. On the krater from Cortona, a column to left separates one nude woman from three others; it may designate the porch-like inner space of a house (*pastas*) and place the *louterion* in the courtyard.¹⁵⁵ A strigil hangs on the wall of this area, while one of the women standing beside the *louterion* holds a second of exaggerated size.

Like the much rarer scenes of women swimming (fig. 5.13), scenes of women bathing at a *louterion* have inspired a great deal of discussion. The resemblance to scenes of male athletes gathered or washing at *louteria* has been frequently noted, especially the inclusion of strigils in some cases. Many scholars have cast the women as *hetairai* on this basis, arguing that “respectable”



Fig. 5.14 Attic column krater attributed to the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, Tomb 46, Arnoaldi necropolis, Felsina (Bologna). Ca. 440–430. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 17948. (Photo © Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)

Athenian women would not have been permitted to exercise at a *palaistra* or be shown naked at all.¹⁵⁶ Other interpretations echo those given for the swimming women: the bathers are *parthenoi* on the edge of womanhood or else non-Athenian women, such as Spartans.¹⁵⁷ Identifying the women as *hetairai* based on their nudity alone seems premature; despite the frequent characterization of these scenes as erotica, most lack explicitly erotic references other than what a viewer might bring to them.¹⁵⁸ The women are simply naked and washing.

Within a funerary setting in Etruria, where most surviving examples with known provenience have been found and where strigils could appear in the tombs of female deceased, the viewer was unlikely to think of these women as *hetairai*.¹⁵⁹ All the more so with the Bologna krater used as a cinerarium, for (as is emphasized in the next chapter) an Etruscan ash urn served not as a

mere container but as a symbolic revitalization of the deceased's fragmented remains. In Felsina/Bologna, scenes on Attic vases used as cineraria (for both male and female deceased) included images of Dionysos and his *thiasos*, scenes of erotic pursuit, banqueting scenes, and occasionally domestic scenes, including the departure of warriors. The remains of the deceased originally held in the Tomb 46 krater cannot be analyzed, and no other objects were present to suggest his or her gender, but based on the iconography—which in other tombs does seem to accord with the deceased's gender—it is possible that the deceased was female. Perhaps for Etruscan viewers these bathing women were the equivalent of *parthenoi*, and perhaps in this case the deceased was someone who had died before marriage, at the peak of her youthful beauty.

How aware Athenian workshops were that these vases would be exported is another question altogether. Did they deliberately target images of nude women to foreign consumers—and, if so, why? Certainly the Priam Painter, who decorated the Caere amphora with swimming women (figs. 5.12–13), had close ties to the Etruscan market that are noted throughout this volume, and certainly the types of shapes on which these scenes appear (cups, column kraters, and stamnoi to a large degree) were commonly exported.¹⁶⁰ One of the stereotypes Greeks held about Etruscan women—at least according to Theopompus via Athenaios, discussed in chapter 3—concerned their athleticism: “These women take great care over their bodies and they often exercise naked even with men, but sometimes also with one another, since it is not shameful for them to appear naked.”¹⁶¹ Although we cannot be sure how far back in time this stereotype extends, maybe Athenian painters conceived of bathing and swimming women as Etruscans in many cases, creating a type of scene that might be less palatable at home but, they thought, would be accepted abroad.¹⁶² Later in the fifth century, when images of women washing (at a *louterion* or otherwise) appear on more vases found in Attica or places other than Etruria (such as sites around the Black Sea), winged Erotes clarify the nuptial setting and perhaps justify the female nudity.¹⁶³ The likely deliberate ambiguity of the earlier images (and lack of known provenience for many of them) prevents certainty on this point, but there is no question that Etruscan consumers found vases with these subjects desirable, and for reasons beyond the associative chain of nudity equals *hetairai* equals erotica equals symposium.¹⁶⁴ No modern scholar would describe Herakles bathing under a gushing spring as “erotic,” yet such a scene appears on a black-figure amphora found at Vulci, and to the Etruscan viewer seeking meaningful images related to water or even the *culto dell'acqua* for a tomb assemblage, there was little difference between the hero bathing, youths showering at a fountainhouse (fig. 5.11), and the women at the lake (fig. 5.13) or the *louterion* (fig. 5.14).¹⁶⁵

The iconographic subjects explored in this chapter, like the eye cups of chapter 4, have typically been considered from an Athenian perspective: scenes of Herakles and Triton and of fountainhouses have often been accorded political or other meanings exclusive to Athens. Neglecting the Etruscan lives of these vases as revealed through distribution data and tomb assemblages, however, risks a one-sided view of both Etruscan consumers and Kerameikos workshops. As with the eye cups, documented tomb contexts for hydriai and other vases with these scenes reveal a level of intentionality that embraces both shape and image. By extension, we can presume a degree

of consumer choice whose effects extended back to Athens, via the traders whose mercantile trademarks reveal their own intentionalities. To make the claim that workshops adjusted, even accelerated, production of vases with Herakles and Triton scenes or fountainhouse imagery in order to satisfy the Etruscan market, or that they adapted these scenes to shapes that Etruscans preferred, does not deny the possibility of uniquely Athenian inspiration behind this iconography. It does acknowledge, to a greater degree than has often been the case, the far-reaching impact of the export trade in how these images were further developed and distributed.

Attic Vases as Etruscan Cineraria

IN THE 1886 *Notizie degli Scavi*, WOLFGANG HELBIG discussed recent finds in the Palazzetta necropolis of Bisenzio, a central Etruscan site situated on the southern side of Lake Bolsena. Among them were three sixth-century *tombe a pozzo*, or so-called well tombs for cremation burials, each containing a black-figure column krater serving as a cinerary urn. Two were Attic in Helbig's estimation, the third Etruscan.¹ They held cremated remains but no other objects, and each of the pits into which they had been placed was covered by a large stone. Although only one krater can be identified today, all three featured warrior imagery. While there is no way to be certain, it is tempting to suggest that the graves belonged to men.

The known Athenian krater measures 29.8 centimeters in diameter and has a Gigantomachy on its obverse (fig. 6.1): a bearded god driving a chariot (perhaps Dionysos), Athena brandishing a spear, and an armed male figure confront a Giant at right bearing a tripod-emblazoned shield.² The military theme continues on the reverse, where a man on horseback is joined by three armed figures on foot, perhaps all leaving for battle. Male and female busts are painted on top of the handles, perhaps representing Dionysos and Ariadne. Helbig specifies that "una grande tazza attica" served as the krater's lid (fig. 6.2): a black-figure eye cup 28.5 centimeters in diameter. The measurements of the two vases suggest that the kylix sat upon the krater right side up.³ As discussed in chapter 4, the eyes of such cups likely had apotropaic meaning in Etruscan funerary contexts, which became all the more significant when the cup was used as the lid of a cinerary urn. A nymph or maenad flanked by satyrs dances between the eyes on each side, while grapevines and rabbits surround the handles. Not only are Dionysian characters popular on vases used as cinerary urns elsewhere (as will be seen below), but if the charioteer in the Gigantomachy is indeed Dionysos, the god is paired with his followers, and two aspects of his identity are seen: the god capable of vengeance against his enemies and the god who brings joy and freedom. The eye



Fig. 6.1 Attic column krater with Gigantomachy, from Bisenzio. Late sixth century. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale P270. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

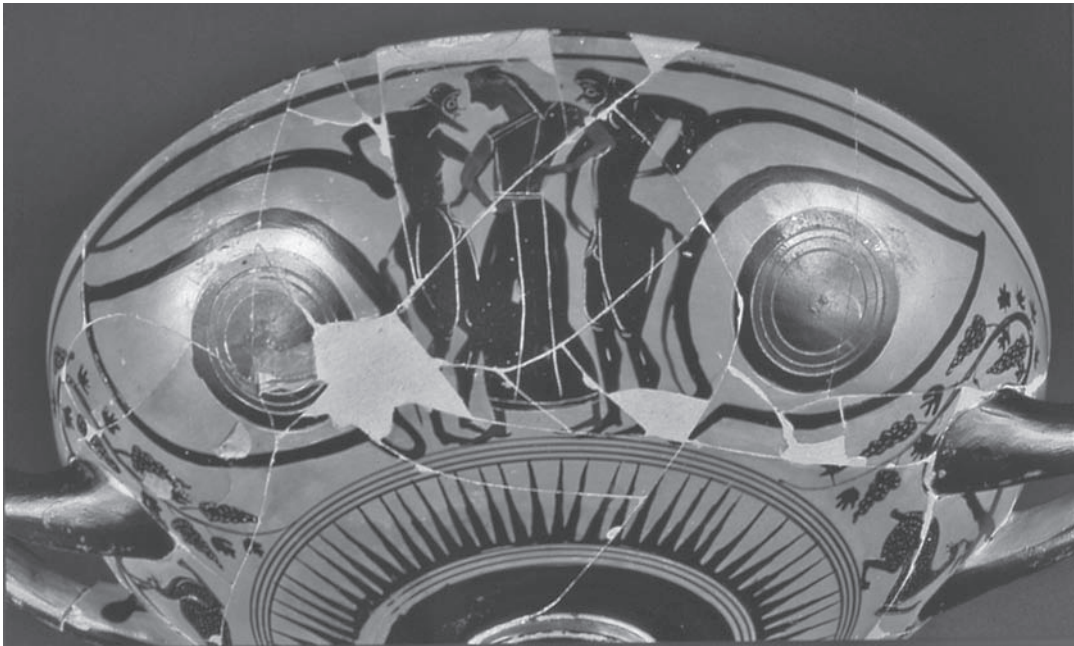


Fig. 6.2 Attic eye cup, from Bisenzio. Late sixth century. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale P300. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

cup carries traces of ancient repair around one handle, so it possibly belonged to the deceased or his/her family before being repurposed.⁴

The use of Athenian figured vases as cinerary urns, a practice which can be found sporadically in many communities, provides the most potent—and poignant—examples of their integration into Etruscan material culture. The study of this phenomenon faces methodological challenges beyond those outlined in earlier chapters. In the majority of nineteenth-century excavations like those at Bisenzio and in more recent instances of looting, the human remains were discarded, and so, without some form of documentation, it is difficult to identify cineraria. When the remains have been kept, it is sometimes but not always possible to determine the deceased's age and gender; success depends on the condition of the remains, and not all surviving specimens have been analyzed or published. Grave goods can sometimes be used to hypothesize gender, but in many cases—for example, the tomb at Bisenzio—it was not the local custom to include objects with a cremation burial. Even so, documented examples of Attic vases as cineraria encourage us to contemplate the dual roles of shape and image in the decisions made by families to inter their loved ones in these vessels. It was a conscious decision, for many types of containers were employed as cineraria in Etruria, depending on the community in question: figured vessels of Etruscan production (as noted by Helbig at Bisenzio), nonfigured ceramic vessels of different shapes and origins, stone urns with or without figural decoration, bronze containers of various sorts, and even textiles and wooden chests, since disintegrated. Figured Athenian pottery forms a distinct yet noteworthy minority, and a level of intentionality for the choices of shape and imagery is readily witnessed.

Three aspects of Etruscan cremation are important to the exploration of Attic vases as cineraria. The first is the antiquity of this form of burial, dating back to the Early Iron Age and so-called Villanovan urns in ceramic impasto, whether the more familiar biconical urns (fig. 6.3) or less common examples in the form of huts and houses. In many parts of Etruria, cremation was superseded by inhumation after the seventh century, but in some areas, such as Chiusi and environs, cremation remained the dominant form of burial. At other sites like Tarquinia, Vulci, and Caere, cremation experienced a revival during the sixth century and into the fifth, but only for certain individuals; because of the methodological problems noted above, it is difficult to discern patterns for who received cremations and why. In any case, at every site where Athenian vases were used for cremation burials, not only did these co-exist with other, local types of cinerary containers, but the tradition of cremation itself had a long history. At Bisenzio, for example, ovoid ollae and amphorae with wide mouths were preferred for cremation burials during the Early Iron Age, often with an impasto vessel shaped like a cup or deep plate placed on top as a lid.⁵ Perhaps the sixth-century burial discussed above was meant to hark back to this earlier tradition while using imported figured pottery.

Second, one must consider the performativity of cremation as a “highly visual, sensual, and powerful process.”⁶ The burning of the body upon a pyre, the gathering of the remains and their placement in a suitable and safe container, and the deposition of the urn and any associated goods were accompanied by rituals, actions, and prayers about which we know little but which must have



Fig. 6.3 Etruscan biconical cinerary urn, from Vulci. Ninth–eighth centuries. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (Photo: SEF/ Art Resource, NY)

been suffused with meaning. Unlike modern Western cremations, conducted by professionals and from which mourners tend to be shielded, in ancient times the deceased's family and friends would have watched and participated in at least part of the lengthy proceedings.⁷ As Howard Williams notes regarding medieval Anglo-Saxon cremations, mourners would have remembered vividly the “visual spectacle of transformation,” the sometimes shocking sights and smells as their loved one's corpse was consumed by flames.⁸ Once the pyre had collapsed and cooled, the dwindling embers quenched by wine, attention turned to gathering the remains. We do not know whether priests or other professionals participated in this activity in Etruria (as was the case with the *ustores* mentioned in Roman texts), but family members were likely present, even if they did not undertake the task themselves.⁹ Williams observes that “there is no reason to regard this as a mundane and

practical activity; instead it would have been an emotional and mnemonic process in which the mourners came into direct contact with the transformed remains of individuals they had known.”¹⁰ Often in Etruria only part of the remains were interred, and sometimes bones were crushed to facilitate their placement in a container, a process known today as “comminution”; nonetheless, this was a meaningful stage in a series of transformations.¹¹ As the dead person’s last resting place, the urn became the focus of any remaining rites. One can imagine it being carried to the grave in a final procession, a recipient of mourning and memory, just as the deceased’s intact body had been.

A widespread conception of the cinerary urn as a symbolic reconstitution of the deceased is a third key aspect of Etruscan cremation. This belief can be traced back to Early Iron Age burials, with examples of the cinerarium’s literal anthropomorphization present at many sites.¹² Bronze or terracotta helmets could be placed atop impasto biconical urns, or urns might be adorned with textiles or jewelry. The biconical urn of a recently discovered (1998) cremation burial at Tarquinia, belonging to a child four to eight years old according to forensic analysis, had a necklace draped around its exterior, while more jewelry, fibulae, and other goods suggestive of a female deceased were placed inside with the remains.¹³ For another pair of burials in the Poggio dell’Impiccato necropolis of Tarquinia, each urn was laid horizontally in a tomb whose size was more appropriate for an inhumation burial.¹⁴ In Tomb I, the biconical urn was topped with a bronze crested helmet and draped with a necklace; weapons were arranged at its foot, along with a jar, stemmed plates, and other vessels that evoked a banquet.¹⁵ In Tomb II, the lid of the urn was formed by a bronze hemispherical helmet whose repoussé decoration suggests a face. This urn too was equipped with weapons and drinking cups.¹⁶ The deliberate breakage of handles on many biconical urns, or the conscious decision to make only one handle rather than two from the outset, may similarly designate the urn as an embodiment of the deceased, either to (theoretically) make the urn more difficult to carry away or else to ritually disable or cripple it in a more symbolic fashion.¹⁷ Lucy Shipley makes this observation: “The lack of paired handles demands that an individual carrying the urn holds it close to their body, embracing the pot in an enclosing grasp. During burial and movement, these pots appear designed to be held close to the body—their short use-life above ground enabling physical closeness between mourners and corpse.”¹⁸ Shipley and others have further discussed the decoration of biconical urns (when it appears), abstract motifs that today are not fully understood but likely contributed to the urn’s assertion of the deceased’s individual and communal identities.¹⁹

This chapter considers how imported Athenian vases were incorporated into existing paradigms of Etruscan cremation ritual. Some scholars have claimed that the sixth-century revival of cremation resulted from increased contact with Greeks, and still others have asserted (with no evidence) that some of the cremated dead interred in Athenian pots may have been Greek themselves. I argue that while Attic vessels offered attractive options for families of the deceased through their shapes and narrative imagery, ultimately their Greekness mattered less than the way they could be made to fit local and sometimes very old customs and conceptions of the urn. To address this question, examples from different communities are examined: large coastal cities of southern Etruria like Vulci, Caere, and Tarquinia, where contact with Greeks was possible for many people,

and inland sites like Bisenzio (noted above) and Foiano della Chiana, where firsthand contact was minimal if it existed at all. As with other case studies, Athenian figured pottery has to be examined not in isolation but within a larger framework.

TARQUINIA

On the back wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses (Tomba delle Leonesse, ca. 520, fig. 6.4), complementing a banquet in progress on the side walls, a large volute krater draped with ivy stands between two musicians playing auloi and a phorminx.²⁰ Dancing figures frame this central group: a woman to the left playing krotala, a male-female couple to the right. The young man holds a jug as he dances, while the young woman with him enacts an apotropaic *cornuto* gesture with her right hand.²¹ The krater's central placement recalls sympotic scenes on some Attic cups, and the ladle hanging beside it affirms its function. Additional meanings can be discerned, however, for the painted krater stands above a niche that held a since-lost cinerary urn, added sometime after the



Fig. 6.4 Back wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia. Ca. 520. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Corneto.T.Leo. 24042)

painting was completed. The ivy adorning the painted krater recalls the attention that would have been given the deceased's cinerarium during the funeral and deposition. One is also reminded of Fufluns, who, as noted in earlier chapters, had a chthonic aspect in addition to being associated with wine and banqueting.²² Even the musicians possess a double meaning, for as Etruscan funerary art attests, music and dance accompanied the laying out of the body and other rituals that followed.²³ Images above and below likewise carry multiple references. In the lower zone around the tomb, dolphins leap in rolling waves, the sea recalling the deceased's passage into the afterworld (see chapter 5). At the top of the wall, the two snarling lionesses from which the tomb gets its nickname frame a *columen* perhaps doubling as an altar. While the lionesses serve a protective function as powerful as the female dancer's hand gesture, the altar recalls ceremonies and sacrifices and, by extension, the deceased's transformation and even heroization.²⁴ It seems no coincidence that painted altar, painted krater, and actual cinerary urn once occupied the same vertical axis.

During the period under discussion in this study, cremation was not the primary rite at Tarquinia and had not been since the Early Iron Age, when biconical urns were the characteristic receptacle and were often treated in an anthropomorphized fashion. For unknown reasons, cremation experienced a revival for the burials of some individuals from approximately the second quarter of the sixth century to the late fifth. Many cremation burials were found in the nineteenth century, when human remains were not kept, but forensic analysis of more recent discoveries betrays a lack of obvious pattern for who received this treatment; children and adults, male and female, are represented.²⁵ Nor was cremation exclusive to less wealthy individuals. Although many cremation burials lack grave goods for whatever reason, valuable objects have sometimes been found inside or around the urns (some examples appear below). Urns were occasionally placed inside chamber tombs, as in the Tomb of the Lionesses; in that instance, the painted tomb suggests a well-off family, even though the urn is missing. Mario Torelli proposes that most if not all cremation burials belonged to metics—by which he means Greek immigrants—while Juliette de la Genière notes that cremation's reappearance chronologically coincided with the foundation of the Greco-Etruscan sanctuary at Gravisca. She speculates that the deceased were Etruscan but that nearby Greeks helped inspire the resurrection of cremation.²⁶ While de la Genière is surely correct that the cremated individuals were Etruscan, the styles of cremation and burial do not neatly fit Greek customs. In Greek cremations, for instance, the tendency seems to have been to collect most if not all of the remains from the pyre; in Etruscan cremations, even a small portion could serve as a *pars pro toto* for the deceased.²⁷ Communion was likewise practiced regularly at Tarquinia.²⁸ In general, Tarquinian cremations seem more evocative of traditional Etruscan forms of burial than of Greek; even the placement of the majority of urns in pit tombs (*tombe a buca* or *tombe a custodia*) harks back to the Early Iron Age. In some cases, the pits were stone-lined or stone-topped like eighth-century examples.²⁹

Many cremation burials were housed in figured pottery of Attic or Etruscan manufacture, all of which can be considered imported, given that Tarquinia did not produce its own figured ware.³⁰ Nonfigural local and imported vessels were also used, as for example a black-glazed Lakonian

column krater from the mid-sixth century, found in a *tomba a buca* (Tomb 6191 of the Monterozzi necropolis), where it was originally topped with a bucchero dish.³¹ The remains inside belonged to a child eight to twelve years of age, while bucchero loomweights among the grave goods suggest a young girl. This krater and a few more vases discussed below represent an exception to a tendency for cremation burials to be placed in amphorae; of the nearly thirty Attic vases used as urns in my own corpus, over twenty are black-figure amphorae, and nearly all Etruscan figured pots used for cremations are amphorae, too.³² Despite her suspicions of a Greek connection to Tarquinian cremation burials, de la Genière notes a resemblance between the shapes of amphorae and Villanovan biconical urns (cf., e.g., fig. 6.3).³³ This once more suggests deliberate revival of earlier Tarquinian practice while using imported pottery. The occasional employment of bucchero cups or locally made stemmed plates as lids bolsters the comparison, since this practice could be found with some Early Iron Age urns.³⁴ So too other modifications: for example, the deliberate breakage of one handle of an Etruscan black-figure stamnos used as an urn.³⁵ A Pontic amphora attributed to the Paris Painter (ca. 540–520) was found with a large bronze ring looped around one of its handles, perhaps anthropomorphizing the vase and mimicking the addition of necklaces or other objects to biconical urns.³⁶

The iconography of Attic vases used as cinerary urns at Tarquinia is consistent with the types of subjects favored for imported pottery generally: propitious gods and heroes, Dionysian subjects, warrior imagery, and occasional genre scenes, such as a black-figure pelike with scenes of oil-sellers, found in a *tomba a buca* near the Tomb of the Baron in 1877.³⁷ When these vessels were employed as cinerary urns, Etruscan belief in the urn as revitalization of the deceased lent heightened significance to the chosen images, even if that significance is not always known to the modern viewer (as with the oil-sellers on the pelike). As an example of an Attic vase with propitious deities, we may consider a black-figure amphora attributed to the Affecter (figs. 6.5–6), described by Helbig in the 1876 volume of the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* as having been found at Tarquinia but unidentified until my research for this book.³⁸ Four neighboring *tombe a buca* with ceramic cinerary urns were found on private land belonging to the Marzi brothers; this amphora and likely the other three discovered vases (two Etruscan, one badly damaged and possibly Greek) were sold not long after discovery.³⁹ The Affecter amphora was bequeathed to the Harvard University Classics Department by alumnus Henry W. Haynes in 1912. When, where, and from whom Haynes acquired it are unknown, but his correspondence and travel diary show that he was in Rome in spring 1876 and could have purchased the amphora then; he even traveled to Tarquinia and met one of the Marzis on 21 May.⁴⁰

Helbig writes that the amphora was “nello stile che gli antiquarii romani chiamano tirrenico”—of the style that the “Roman antiquarians” call “Tyrrhenian.” He further explains that this style “esagera i principii dello stile arcaico” and represents mythological characters “in maniera particolarmente scura.”⁴¹ The Affecter’s style is indeed distinct from his contemporaries, and while the amphora is not “Tyrrhenian” (i.e., does not belong to the Tyrrhenian Group), the rest of Helbig’s description leaves no doubt that it is the same vase:

Fig. 6.5 Attic amphora attributed to the Affecter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, transfer from the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, bequest of Henry W. Haynes, 1912, 1977.216.2244. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

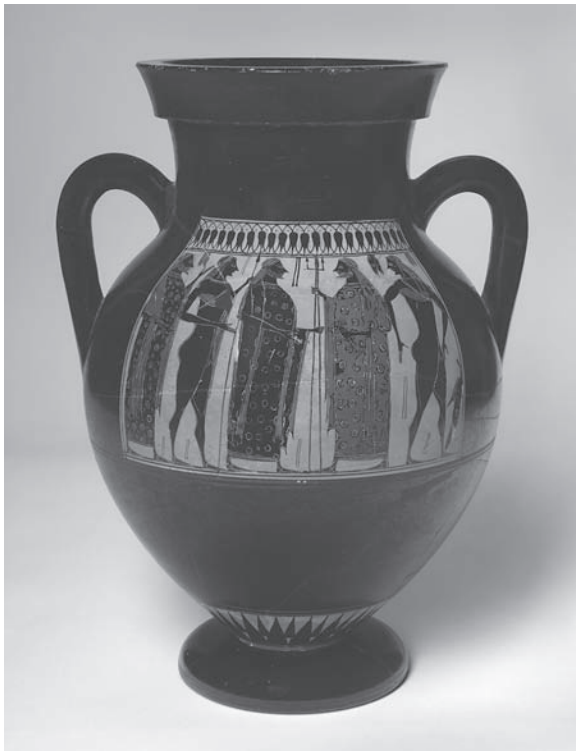


Fig. 6.6 Attic amphora attributed to the Affecter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Reverse of fig. 6.5. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, transfer from the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, bequest of Henry W. Haynes, 1912, 1977.216.2244. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Dall'una parte dell'anfora si vede Nettuno in piedi, avvolto nel mantello, con un tridente nella d., un pesce nella s. Dirimpetto a lui si trova altra figura barbata, vestita col mantello, tenendo colla s. un'asta. Dietro Nettuno un efebo ignudo, con un filo di perle sopra la spalla d., se ne va, rivolgendo la testa verso il dio. Altro efebo somigliante si trova in piedi dietro la figura coll'asta; egli protende la d. e tiene colla s. un'asta. Gli è raffigurato dietro un uomo barbato, avvolto nel mantello, che alza la s. e tiene colla d. un pesce. Presso l'efebo menzionato in primo luogo è dipinto un lepre, appiccato colle gambe davanti. L'altra parte dell'anfora mostra nel bel mezzo un uomo barbato, vestito con mantello, che tiene colla sin. un'asta. Egli siede in un trono, tra gli appoggi del quale sono raffigurati ingiù un lepre e più sù una sfinge alata, che in guise di telamone regge il sedile. In ogni lato di cotale figura di mezzo sono rappresentate due figure in piedi. Avanti si vede Mercurio, munito di petaso, chitone, clamide e stivali alati, il quale, nella s. il caduceo, alzando la d., discorre coll'uomo seduto, e dietro Mercurio un uomo barbato, vestito di lungo chitone cinto. Dall'altra parte della figura di mezzo sono rappresentati Nettuno ammantellato con tridente e pesce nelle mani ed un giovinetto ignudo che in ogni mano tiene una corona. Sopra quest'ultima figura ed avanti quella di Mercurio è dipinto un lepre appiccato colle gambe davanti.⁴²

On the obverse (fig. 6.5), Zeus enthroned is surrounded by Hermes, Dionysos, Poseidon, and a youth who may be Ganymede. Hermes appears to be departing, moving away from Zeus but looking backward with upraised hand, kerykeion grasped in the other. Perhaps he is undertaking a mission for his father; one possibility is that he will be bringing the deceased Herakles to Mount Olympos, given that Hermes regularly accompanies or even leads the hero's apotheosis by chariot. Some scholars have argued that this scene and others like it allude to the impending birth of Athena, but without Hephaistos and/or Eileithyia present, this identification cannot be confirmed.⁴³ The amphora's reverse (fig. 6.6) depicts Poseidon again in the center, together with another bearded deity who might be Zeus (unclear since he holds only a scepter); two beardless, nude males who lack attributes to secure their identities; and a bearded male figure holding a fish, who may be Nereus. All of the represented deities have Etruscan equivalents; Turms, for example, functioned as a guide of souls like Hermes and appeared very early in Etruscan art.⁴⁴ He is identified as Turms Aitas ("Hermes of Hades") in an inscription on a fourth-century mirror that shows him with Uthuze and the *hinhial* of Terasias (Teiresias) at the edge of the Underworld.⁴⁵ Perhaps the Etruscan viewer would understand Turms to be leaving Mount Olympos to fetch Hercle, whose apotheosis was similarly important in Etruscan art and belief, or perhaps to accompany the mortal deceased whose remains were interred inside.⁴⁶ We do not know the gender of the dead, for the remains are long gone, and Helbig recorded no objects serving as grave goods.

Sacre conversazioni like those on the amphora are common in the work of the Affector throughout his career (ca. 540–520), with three and perhaps four such vases imported into Tarquinia.⁴⁷ Zeus sits on a stool instead of a throne on an amphora in Gotha, and the central enthroned figure is a female deity (Hera?) on an amphora in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense.⁴⁸ Both of these amphorae were found in the nineteenth century and lack documented contexts; the latter

belonged to the Bruschi-Falgari family, while the Gotha vase was acquired via Helbig. Another amphora in Baltimore likely comes from Tarquinia as well, based on circumstantial evidence; here, each side depicts Hermes between Dionysos and a female figure who might be Ariadne, this trio flanked by satyrs.⁴⁹ In her 1975 monograph, Heide Mommsen placed all four of these amphorae with gatherings of gods into her Group One, the earliest of the Affecter's vases, which suggests that the potter/painter dealt with a trader knowledgeable about Tarquinian demand.⁵⁰ Although none carries a trademark, a different and unprovenanced Group One amphora bears the graffito of trader ΣΟ (type 21A), the quintessential knowledgeable *emporos*, and indeed eight ΣΟ marks appear on Affecter vases.⁵¹

As one might expect, given his prominence in Etruria, Herakles is the hero most commonly represented on Attic vases adapted as cinerary urns at Tarquinia. Herakles and Telamon fight Amazons on one side of an ovoid neck amphora attributed to the Camtar Painter (fig. 6.7), one of

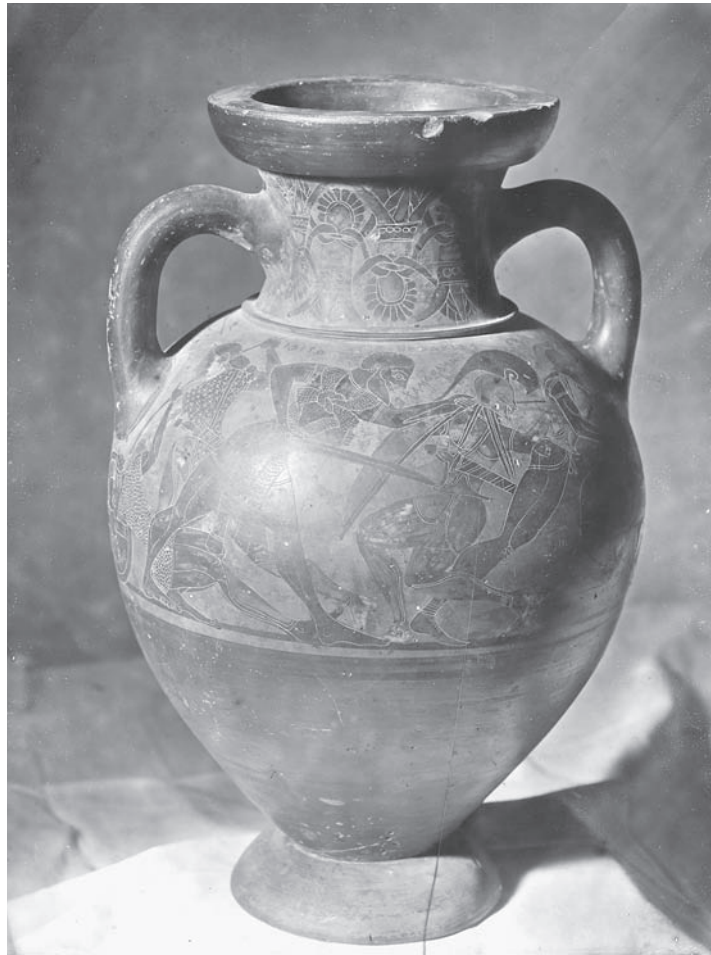


Fig. 6.7 Attic amphora attributed to the Camtar Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 575–550. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC5564. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Cer. 8631)

the earliest Athenian vases used in this capacity (ca. 575–550).⁵² All the figures, including Andromache the Amazon, are identified by inscription. Instead of being placed in a *tomba a buca*, the amphora was found inside a chamber tomb with at least one inhumed individual; Helbig's description in the 1884 *Bullettino* says that it stood just inside the door.⁵³ The amphora's other side shows an abbreviated version of the Calydonian Boar Hunt, with Peleus, Kastor, Melanion, and a hunting dog (all with names inscribed) attacking the beast, as another hunter lies wounded or dead beneath it. Found primarily on Attic black-figure vases dating from the first half of the sixth century, the Calydonian Boar Hunt would have appealed to the family selecting the urn for its themes of collectivity, valor, and aristocratic pursuits.⁵⁴ We cannot be certain of the deceased's gender, for nothing was inside the urn save the now-lost remains; however, an oxidized spearpoint and a burned blue scarab fused together and lying on the floor between the benches had probably come from the pyre and would suggest a male.⁵⁵

Black-figure amphorae with scenes of Herakles were found in two *tombe a buca* on private land in the *contrada* Ripagretta, situated only a meter and a half apart and with no accompanying grave goods.⁵⁶ Unidentified until my research for this book, both vases were purchased on the Roman art market by Arthur Frothingham and entered the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1896.⁵⁷ On the obverse of the first (fig. 6.8), Herakles pulls one Amazon to her knees while another, with a prominent wicker *pelta* (crescent-shaped shield), charges from right.⁵⁸ The reverse shows two Amazon warriors on horseback. On the second amphora, Herakles fights the Nemean Lion as Athena watches from behind (fig. 6.9).⁵⁹ Helbig did not attempt a description of the reverse, given that the vase "ha sofferto troppo dall'umidità," but even with the damage, the three standing figures can be identified as Hermes, Herakles, and a female figure who is most likely Athena.⁶⁰ This scene may represent an abbreviated version of Herakles' arrival on Mount Olympos in which the hero approaches on foot instead of in a chariot; if so, Herakles' first labor is paired with his happy ending. Such an affirmation of the hero overcoming obstacles to reach the world of the gods offered a positive message for a cinerary urn. Herakles and the lion appear again on an amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter and placed in a different *tomba a buca*, its reverse featuring the Birth of Athena, yet another propitious image.⁶¹

Another amphora by the Antimenes Painter used as a Tarquinian cinerary urn features Herakles retrieving Kerberos from the Underworld, a myth whose already potent significance, discussed in chapter 4, was amplified when the vessel was repurposed in this fashion.⁶² Its *tomba a buca* was one of four such graves described in the 1878 *Bullettino* as being near the Tomb of the Baron.⁶³ Herakles and Hermes appear at right, and the dog Kerberos follows as Athena raises a hand in approval. The reverse shows Aineias carrying Anchises as they escape from Troy (fig. 6.10), a subject discussed in chapter 2 as appearing primarily on vases exported to Etruria. As with Nikosthenes' eye cup from Vulci (fig. 2.6), Aineias and his father are the focus of the composition, but the amphora's shape allowed the Antimenes Painter to include more figures. To right a Scythian archer leads the group and Aineias' wife, Kreusa, carries their son, Askanios. To left, raising her hand in a gesture that mirrors Athena on the opposite side, is a female figure likely to be Aineias' mother,

Fig. 6.8 Attic amphora with Amazonomachy, from Tarquinia. Late sixth century. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Museum Purchase, Subscription of John Wanamaker, 1896, MS1752. (Photo courtesy Penn Museum, image 122132)



Fig. 6.9 Attic amphora with Herakles and the Nemean Lion, from Tarquinia. Late sixth century. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Museum Purchase, Subscription of John Wanamaker, 1896, MS1753. (Photo courtesy Penn Museum, image 2723)



Fig. 6.10 Attic amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 520–510. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC976. (Photo by H. Schwanke, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 80.1889)

Aphrodite, encouraging the refugees and assuring them of her protection.⁶⁴ Both subjects on the amphora present a positive message of overcoming obstacles, while the Aineias scene further celebrates the bonds of family. A trademark under the foot (Johnston's type 37A) appears on seven amphorae by this painter, six with known Tarquinian provenience. This suggests insider knowledge of consumer demand by the trader and, by extension, the Antimenes Painter.⁶⁵

A hero less common than Herakles on imported vases appears on a black-figure column krater found in a nearby *tomba a buca* (fig. 6.11): Theseus, fighting the Minotaur among four robed men with spears.⁶⁶ Attic red-figure painters, especially after the Battle of Marathon, would portray the full range of Theseus' deeds and emphasize his status as quintessential Athenian hero (including on vases exported to Etruria); on black-figure vases, however, his battle with the Minotaur was the

Fig. 6.11 Attic column krater with Theseus fighting the Minotaur, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC968. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 225718)



adventure of choice.⁶⁷ To the Etruscan viewer, this story appealed for its heroic combat and the hero's defeat of a hybrid monster, the latter perhaps carrying subtexts of sacrifice.⁶⁸ The subject further implies Theseus' successful penetration of the labyrinth, which may have held eschatological meaning, like Herakles' descent into the Underworld.⁶⁹ We cannot rule out the possibility that when vases lacked inscriptions, as here, Etruscan viewers interpreted the depicted hero as Herakles himself; in later Etruscan art, it is he, not These/Theseus, who defeats the Minotaur.⁷⁰ The krater's reverse depicts "la ben conosciuta pompa nuziale" in Helbig's words: a man and woman in a chariot, accompanied by deities like Dionysos and Apollo. To the Greek painter, the couple was likely Peleus and Thetis, as on inscribed examples of the scene; while the Etruscan viewer may have also seen Pele/Thetis, this image simultaneously evoked the passage of the deceased and his/her spouse into the afterworld.

The column krater was topped with an Attic red-figure kylix by Epiktetos, serving as a lid (fig. 6.12).⁷¹ Featuring a single scene in the tondo—a satyr holding a large wineskin—the cup almost certainly was placed onto the krater facing up, its festive mood complementing the procession scene below.⁷² Dionysian imagery of various sorts—the god himself, satyrs, nymphs/maenads—was common on Athenian vases used as cineraria at Tarquinia and reflects local devotion to Fufluns (cf. the paintings of the Tomb of the Lionesses, fig. 6.4). An amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter (fig. 4.6, right), found in a *tomba a buca*, where it was topped by a bucchero cup or plate, contained not only bones and ash but five silver fibulae and two gold-decorated clasps that perhaps



Fig. 6.12 Attic kylix attributed to Epiktetos, from Tarquinia. Ca. 510–500. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC1091. (Photo by H. Felbermeyer, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 61.2445)

secured a textile around the remains.⁷³ The frontal mask of Dionysos on each side may have served an apotropaic function while invoking the god (cf. fig. 4.10). Dionysos appears with maenads and satyrs on three other black-figure amphorae used as cineraria at Tarquinia, as well as a large red-figure amphora by Phintias identified as “un cenerario” by the excavator, Luigi Dasti.⁷⁴ The opposite side of the Phintias amphora, which had many ancient repairs, depicts Herakles and Apollo struggling over the Delphic tripod. Unique among Tarquinian cineraria is a black-figure psykter used for a female deceased about sixteen to twenty-one years old (based on forensic analysis of the remains); maenads and satyrs dance around the vessel, recalling the cheerful dancing mortals in many contemporary chamber tombs (e.g., fig. 6.4).⁷⁵ In this instance, the Dionysian imagery may have inspired the vase’s choice as a cinerary urn despite its top-heavy form and somewhat impractical shape.

Nine scenes on Attic amphorae used as Tarquinian cinerary urns depict generic (or at least uninscribed) images of warriors, either in combat or in what could be read as departure scenes. An amphora attributed to Group E with combat scene was topped with a bucchero dish as a makeshift lid, but the gender of its deceased cannot be known.⁷⁶ An amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter from Tomb 6202 (fig. 6.13), a *tomba a buca*, provides an important case study because its recent discovery (1987) allowed the human remains to be kept and analyzed.⁷⁷ They belong to a mature (?) adult male, raising the question of whether he died in battle, as the amphora's iconography implies.⁷⁸ Two warriors duel over a corpse on one side while two female figures watch, a scene perhaps intended by the Greek painter to represent Achilles and Memnon with Thetis



Fig. 6.13 Attic amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, Tomb 6202, Tarquinia. Ca. 520–510. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense 112378. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 234014)

and Eos (cf. fig. 3.17); the other side shows two soldiers attacking a third. A trademark under the foot is the same type 37A noted above for the Aineias/Anchises amphora by this painter (fig. 6.10). Inside with the remains were fragments of a bucchero stemmed plate that had served as a lid in a style reminiscent of Early Iron Age burials. This *tomba a buca* was located near a tumulus chamber tomb of earlier date and neighbored three others with the cremated remains of male youths. The deceased in Tomb 6204, for instance, seems to have been eight to twelve years old, based on forensic analysis, and yet was buried with a helmet and weapons.⁷⁹ Even if the deceased interred inside the Antimenes Painter's amphora was not killed in combat, the choice of iconography meshes well with the warrior ideology favored for many Tarquinian male burials since early times.

Female-centered images—other than scenes involving Dionysian women, Athena, or Amazons—are a minority among Attic vases used as Tarquinian cineraria. The deceased can be identified as female in both examples in my current corpus; as with the male burial of Tomb 6202, the iconography of chosen vases seems to mesh with the family's conception of the deceased. A red-figure pelike from Tomb 5967 of the Monterozzi necropolis (ca. 440–430, fig. 6.14) features a



Fig. 6.14 Attic pelike with two women, Tomb 5967, Tarquinia. Ca. 440–430. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense 102831. (Photo: author, used with permission of the Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

young woman with chelys lyre and another with closed book roll, the former reaching toward the latter as if to take the scroll or ask her companion to open it.⁸⁰ The reverse shows a pair of draped young men. The condition of the remains does not permit an age estimate, but the gracile form of the bone fragments suggests a female, an identification supported not only by the pelike's imagery but by the grave goods.⁸¹ Inside the pelike were a pair of silver gorgoneion plaques, a bronze double-arched fibula of a shape associated with female burials, an iron nail, oxidized iron fragments, and a group of ivory/bone fragments. The inclusion of silver and bronze in this burial suggests that the deceased was not of lower status.

More curious were objects outside the pelike but still inside the grave: iron nails, wood fragments (perhaps from a small chest), more human bone, pig bones (likely from a funerary sacrifice, perhaps to Vei), and the broken pieces of an undecorated column krater of local manufacture and a date similar to that of the pelike.⁸² More krater fragments were scattered outside the grave.⁸³ Examination of the human bones suggested that they belonged to the same individual interred inside the pelike; in the tomb's publication, it was proposed that the nonfigural krater may have been the original cinerary urn, but the remains were transferred.⁸⁴ If this happened purposely and not because of a last-minute accident, perhaps the column krater was broken to signal its ritual abandonment. However, if this did happen on purpose, one must ask why. At 25.7 centimeters high, the pelike was not much smaller than the krater (reconstructed height 27.6 cm), but its closed form would have made it difficult to transfer the remains.

Whether substituted for another vase or not, the pelike's iconography seems to comment on the female deceased's social persona. Leisure, literacy, and musical training are all implied. The pelike is only the eleventh known Attic vase to include female figures with book roll and musical instrument in the same scene.⁸⁵ No inscriptions identify the women, which left open to the ancient viewer's interpretation the question of whether they were Muses (or some other goddesses) or mortals. If the latter, they were likely citizen women rather than *hetairai* or prostitutes, given the lack of sympotic or other references that might imply the latter. Certainly for the Etruscan family who selected this pelike, an identification with prostitutes is unlikely. Even Muses might be unlikely, given that the earliest confirmed Muses in Etruscan art are not found until the fourth century.⁸⁶ Female musicians in general are rare in Etruscan art, despite the ubiquity of music itself. Players of stringed instruments in Tarquinian tombs tend to be male, as for instance the phorminx player in the Tomb of the Lionesses (fig. 6.4) and a chelys lyre player in the Tomb of the Leopards (Tomba dei Leopardi); instead, women tend to play krotala, as also seen in the Tomb of the Lionesses.⁸⁷

A female lyre player does appear in the Tomb of the Black Sow (Tomba della Scrofa Nera, fig. 6.15), currently thought to date to ca. 450 or a little after, close in time to Tomb 5967.⁸⁸ Three *klinai* appear in a banqueting scene on the back wall, each hosting a male-female reclining couple. At the feet of the central couple sits a fragmentary female musician with chelys lyre; her upper half is mostly missing, but the white paint of her ankles clarifies her gender. She is richly dressed and rests her feet upon a stool while turning toward the couple, the reclining woman's outstretched hand showing that they formed a tight compositional group. The identity of the musician has been



Fig. 6.15 Detail of back wall painting, Tomb of the Black Sow, Tarquinia. Ca. 450–425. (Photo by H. Schwanke, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 82.2112)

debated, with Carl Sittl and George Dennis dubbing her a servant or other professional entertainer in their nineteenth-century accounts of the tomb.⁸⁹ However, as Simonetta Stopponi points out in her 1983 publication, iconographic clues suggest that the musician is an honored member of the tomb owner's family: her seated rather than standing position, the similarity of her garments to those of the reclining woman, and her footstool, which in Etruscan art symbolizes prestige.⁹⁰ Stopponi speculates that she could be the daughter of the reclining couple, the trio representing the primary family members to whom the tomb was dedicated.⁹¹ I take this hypothesis a step further and propose that she is the couple's unmarried daughter, for if she were married, she would surely recline with her husband, like other couples on the tomb walls. Perhaps she died before marriage

and joined her parents in the afterworld. A crucial implication of the Tomb of the Black Sow is that despite the rarity of female musicians with stringed instruments in Etruscan art, young women of a certain class could be associated with musical instruments and even learn to play them.

The Athenian pelike of Tomb 5967 communicated the deceased's status and education in similar fashion. The possibility that the individual interred here was considered a form of special dead—someone who had died prematurely, an *aoros*, did merit special treatment in Greece—is suggested not only by the uncommon nature of the grave goods but by her tomb's design and placement. A large, rectangular stone closed the burial, forming a so-called *tomba con custodia*; it was concluded by the original excavator, Richard Linington, that the stone would have been partly visible in ancient times, publicly marking the grave as well as protecting it.⁹² To cover an interred cinerary urn with a stone was not uncommon at Tarquinia, but these were not always visible above the surface. Moreover, Tomb 5967 was placed close to a *tomba a camera* (Tomb 1780), which was topped by a small tumulus and outlined with stones in a fashion not unique in the Monterozzi necropolis but relatively unusual there.⁹³ Tomb 1780 is thought to date from the second half of the sixth century, which means a considerable time gap; even so, it is possible that the deceased in Tomb 5967 was somehow related. Linington suggests that some of the stones outlining tumuli like Tomb 1780 formed a stairway, perhaps indicating an ongoing form of ancestral cult.⁹⁴ Alternatively, steps on the tumulus may have been used as an offering place.⁹⁵ Interring the deceased of Tomb 5967 nearby may have been intended to grant her the benefits of those offerings and the protection of those who had gone before.

The female deceased interred in a red-figure bell krater attributed to the Berlin Painter (ca. 500–490, fig. 6.16) may have herself been a special dead, although the evidence is circumstantial.⁹⁶ Her family chose a vase that was locally unusual in three respects: the bell krater was a brand-new Kerameikos invention; this is the only Berlin Painter vase attested from Tarquinia; and the iconography departs from other known Attic vases used as Tarquinian cineraria.⁹⁷ The krater presents a novel interpretation of an old story, Europa's abduction by Zeus in the form of a bull. In previous Greek representations—not only on Attic and other vases but in architectural sculpture and other media—Europa rides the bull as he either gallops or saunters away, and her emotions range from visibly frightened to remarkably unconcerned.⁹⁸ Many Athenian black-figure amphorae with a woman riding a bull had been exported to Etruria in previous decades, including to Tarquinia itself, but only one carries an actual inscription identifying the woman as Europa; the majority are more ambiguous, perhaps purposely so.⁹⁹ Many examples feature grapevines surrounding the female figure, in which case Greek or Etruscan viewers may have identified her as Ariadne. A more easily identified Europa appears in sixth-century Etruscan art, on two Caeretan hydriai where allusions to the sea leave no doubt. On the hydria in the Villa Giulia (fig. 6.17), the bull races across water populated with fish and dolphins as a Nike bearing two crowns (absent from Attic iconography) assures the viewer of a happy ending.¹⁰⁰

On the Tarquinia bell krater, the Berlin Painter altered the composition, and in some ways the mood, by having Europa run alongside the bull. She grasps his horn as earlier Europas had done,



Fig. 6.16 Attic bell krater
attributed to the Berlin Painter,
from Tarquinia. Ca. 500–490.
Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico
Nazionale Tarquiniense RC7456.
(© MiBAC–Archivio
Fotografico, Museo Nazionale
Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome,
neg. 243727)

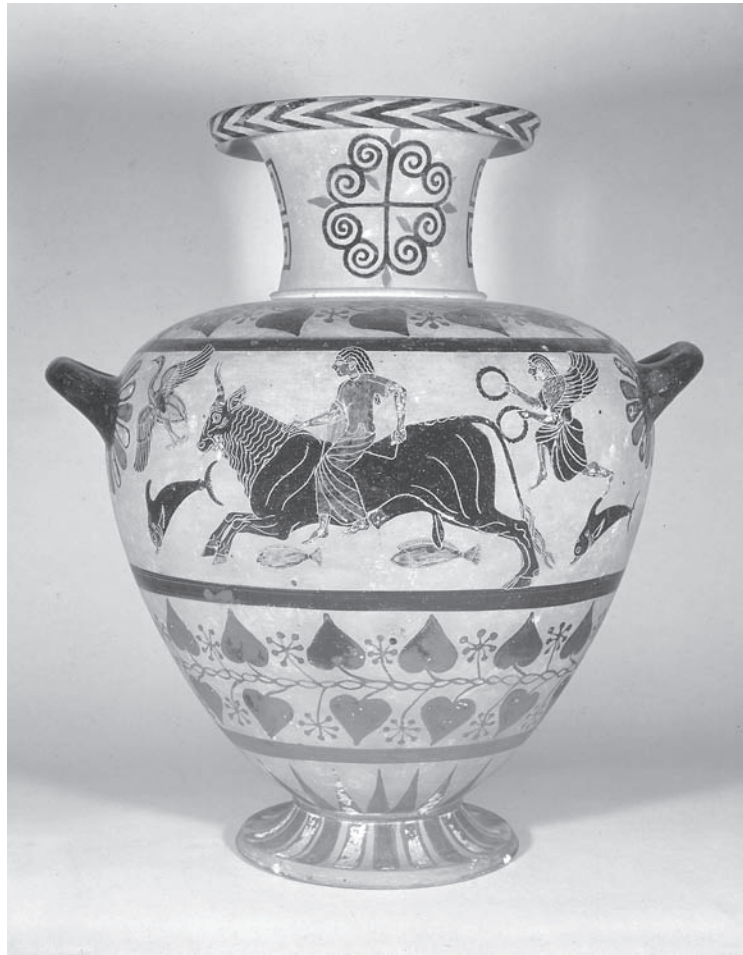


Fig. 6.17 Caeretan hydria
attributed to the Eagle Painter.
Ca. 520. Rome, Museo
Nazionale Etrusco di Villa
Giulia 50643. (Photo: Scala/
Art Resource, NY)

but here the gesture suggests eagerness and attachment rather than fear, and her agency in the alleged abduction is asserted by her implied speed. The story continues on the opposite side, where an anxious female companion hurries after the fleeing pair, hand outstretched in a futile appeal for them to stop. The Berlin Painter's effective use of the bell krater shape recalls another by the same artist with Ganymede and Zeus, the former playing with a hoop on one side and the determined god striding toward the youth from the opposite one.¹⁰¹ The painter opted for a more traditional scene of Europa on a fragmentary hydria of approximately the same date, where her pose riding the bull better suits the kalpis form.¹⁰²

Discrepancies exist between Helbig's published description of the krater's discovery in the 1890 *Notizie degli Scavi* and the unpublished account of that week's excavations conducted by the *comune* of Tarquinia, the *Rapporto settimanale degli oggetti che si sono ritrovati ai Monterozzi dal 24 febbraio al 1 marzo 1890*.¹⁰³ Helbig writes that the *tomba a camera* where it was found contained two inhumed deceased on benches carved from the tufa, and that the krater stood at the feet of the deceased to the right: "Sopra ognuna delle due banchine, lavorate nel tufo appiè delle pareti laterali, fu trovato uno scheletro (incombusto). Sulla banchina destra poi, attorno al cadavere, erano raggruppati un cratere attico a figure rosse, alto m. 0.32 (diam. esterno m. 0.385), il quale si trovava ai piedi del cadavere; uno specchio di bronzo, tondo e liscio (diam. m. 0.145); ed una lekythos di alabastro, alta m. 0.14. Il cratere appartiene ai più bei vasi dipinti che si sono trovati nella necropoli tarquiniese."¹⁰⁴ Helbig proceeds to describe objects surrounding "il cadavere posto sulla banchina destra," which cannot be correct, given that he has already discussed the right-hand bench; comparison with the *Rapporto settimanale* shows that he means the deceased to the left in the second part of his account. The *Rapporto* indicates that at the feet of this skeleton was a black-glazed cup and further lists two scarabs with figured decoration and two golden rings ("piccoli cerchietti d'oro"). Additional objects hung on the wall, including another small black-glazed cup, a small pitcher, a small cup with winged sphinx, and an Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Heidelberg 211 and showing athletic scenes (ca. 440–430).¹⁰⁵ Helbig provides a few details that the *Rapporto settimanale* does not, including the decoration of the two scarabs: one with a horseman and Etruscan letter A, the other with a kneeling hoplite and a bird. Helbig also says that the "cerchietti d'oro" were found next to the skeleton's head, where he thought they had served as hair ornaments. The account of the *Rapporto*, however, leaves open the possibility that they instead were with the scarabs and black-glazed cup at the skeleton's feet. Regardless of their exact placement, none of the objects described as being with the skeleton on the left-hand bench guarantee his or her gender. Even if the "cerchietti d'oro" are jewelry, even if they are earrings rather than hair ornaments, these are found in some Etruscan male burials despite being preferentially female. Conversely, scarabs are preferentially male in Etruscan graves but can be found in female graves too.

The *Rapporto settimanale* diverges from Helbig regarding the Europa krater, and given its role as an eyewitness record for the communal archives, it is more likely to be accurate. It agrees that there were "due morti" in the tomb but says that the Europa krater in the center of the right-hand bench held a "cadavere decomposto." No mention is made of a second inhumed individual: "una

tomba etrusca lunga m. $4.50 \times 4.00 \times 2.70$ di altezza, e con l'ingresso a levante. Nella tomba erano due morti su banchina. . . . Nel principio della banchina destra si è trovato un vaso a campana . . . con due figure, e alto 0.35×0.40 di d. Nell'interno del vaso vi era un cadavere decomposto, e un piccolo anellino d'oro. Uno specchio liscio, e un balsamario d'alabastro."¹⁰⁶ The small gold ring said by the *Rapporto* to accompany the "cadavere decomposto" inside the krater was not mentioned by Helbig, any more than the "cadavere decomposto" itself. It is not clear from the *Rapporto*'s wording and punctuation whether the "balsamario d'alabastro" and mirror were inside the krater as well. Either way, the mirror and the alabastron (or lekythos) together imply a female deceased, although mirrors have been found in a small minority of Tarquinian male graves of later periods.

The phrase "cadavere decomposto"—as opposed to "combusto"—is somewhat surprising. If indicating a difference in appearance between this and other Tarquinian cremation burials found at the time, it might suggest an *enchytrismos* or pot burial, perhaps of a small child; however, these are unattested at Tarquinia (or at least undocumented) and are uncommon in Etruria. This description could instead refer to a cremated adult whose bones had not been fully crushed after burning and so remained in larger pieces, even though comminution was otherwise a common Tarquinian practice. The krater's size and wide mouth would have rendered comminution mostly or entirely unnecessary. Taken all together, it would be most logical to identify the tomb's inhabitants as an inhumed male to left and a cremated female, interred in the Europa krater, to right. We cannot completely rule out an alternative combination: for example, an adult inhumed female and a cremated child, but a husband-wife couple would suit the grave goods and be consistent with the majority of Tarquinian tombs.

The Europa krater seems another example of a cinerarium chosen as much for its imagery as its shape: the theme of abduction by a god—over the sea, no less—was appropriate for a woman who had died. Additional vases with erotic pursuit scenes and similar subtexts can be found elsewhere as cineraria; examples from Caere and Foiano della Chiana are discussed later in this chapter. Why the wife was cremated rather than inhumed like her husband (if that is indeed the case here) cannot be known. Had she perished in pregnancy or childbirth to become a special dead, and did this account for her special treatment and special urn?¹⁰⁷ It is tempting to suggest that the family had owned the krater for some time before its interment, given that it dates much earlier than the Attic red-figure cup that hung on the wall. The extent of the krater's ancient repairs likewise raises questions; a long fracture stretches around the vase about one-fourth of the way up from the bottom, and two pieces below the left handle were totally replaced (fig. 6.18).¹⁰⁸ Ten carved channels with holes for inset metal clamps appear along the breaks: three on the reverse under the female figure, seven on the left side away from the two scenes. No clamps are visible on the Europa scene, although the ancient fracture continues in this area; perhaps the craftsman making the repair did not wish to mar her feet or those of the bull.¹⁰⁹ He similarly avoided the feet of Europa's companion and likely filled in the many grooves to make them less apparent.¹¹⁰ Helbig describes the clamps as "fili di bronzo," which, if accurate, implies the repairs were made in Etruria

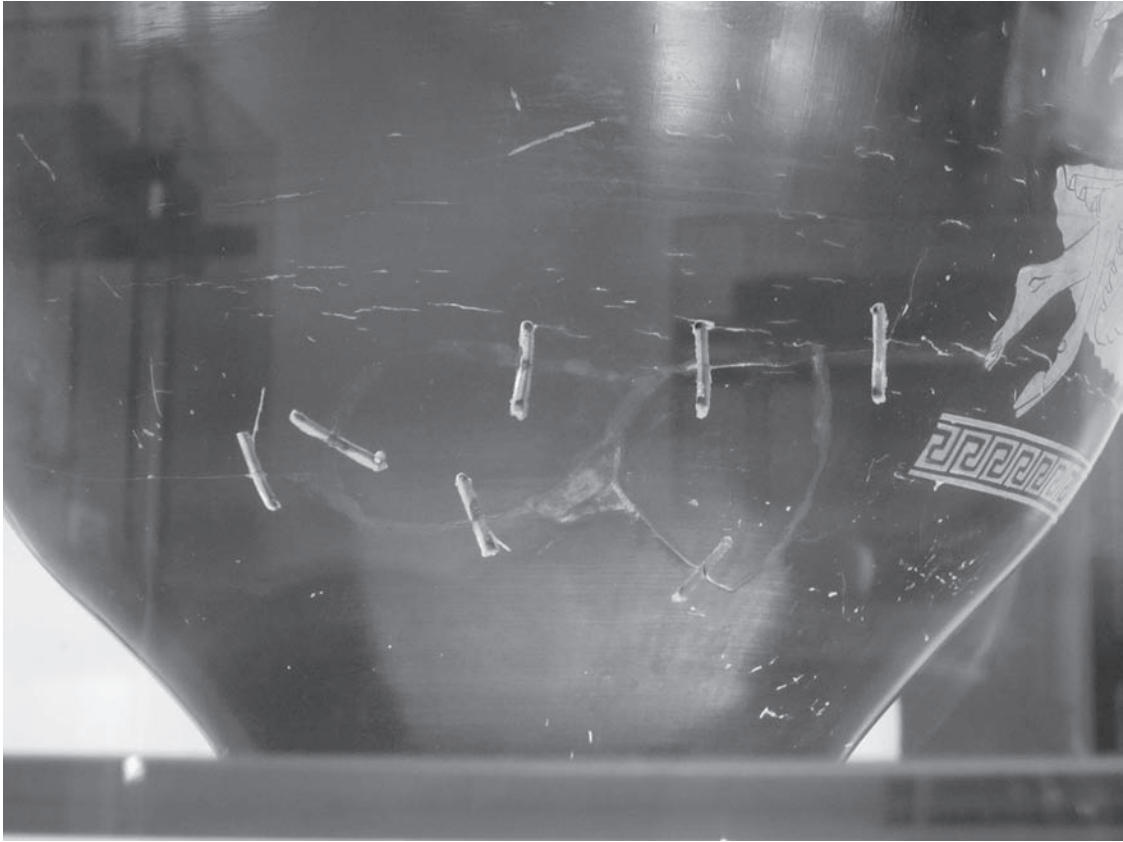


Fig. 6.18 Attic bell krater attributed to the Berlin Painter, from Tarquinia, view of ancient repairs. Ca. 500–490. Detail of fig. 6.16. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC7456. (Photo: author, used with permission of the Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

rather than Athens, where they would have been more likely to be done in lead.¹¹¹ The degree of damage may have rendered the vase unusable, which may have also contributed to its choice for the tomb.

CAERE

The tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere, dating for the most part from the seventh through fourth centuries, represent a mixture of chamber tombs and cremation burials, the latter making up a sizable percentage of the total. Cremation burials tended to be housed in simpler *tombe a pozzo*, often located near the entrances to *tombe a camera*, or else in more elaborate versions lined and topped with stone blocks. Nonfigured ollae and other vessels presumably of local manufacture

made up the majority of containers, but a small number of figured vases serving as a cinerary urns, both Etruscan and Attic, have also been found; of the graves excavated by Raniero Mengarelli in the early twentieth century and published in 1955, seven featured Athenian vases.¹¹² All are two-handled storage jars, either amphorae or pelikai, and all carry warrior iconography or some other scene that can be associated with premature death. Five of the seven burials can be hypothesized as male, either through grave goods or because the tomb was marked with a cylindrical cippus, seemingly associated with men in this necropolis.

The four black-figure vases are neck amphorae from the last decades of the sixth century, all with scenes of soldiers in combat, departing for war, or both. One may single out Tomb 122 *a pozzetto*, which was located near a chamber tomb (Tomb 121) and marked with a cylindrical cippus.¹¹³ It was of the more elaborate form, with cut-stone blocks built up around and over the pit. The amphora inside features Ajax carrying the body of Achilles on the obverse, and Dionysos between a maenad and a satyr on the reverse.¹¹⁴ The Ajax and Achilles scene represents a late sixth-century variant in which the two warriors are framed by the elderly figure of Peleus and the goddess Thetis; even in the absence of a literary source for this encounter, vase painters included Achilles' parents to emphasize war's impact on families at home.¹¹⁵ The fact that the amphora still has its original lid and shows no sign of ancient repairs may indicate that it was acquired specifically for this burial. Mixed with the deceased's remains inside the amphora were bronze fragments damaged by the pyre, almost certainly parts of weapons. In Tomb 137 *a pozzetto*—where the amphora's obverse has Athena, Dionysos, and Hermes and the reverse depicts two warriors attacking a third—an iron spearpoint, bronze fragments (perhaps part of a shield band), and a copper cup, all oxidized from the heat of the fire, were placed around the cinerary urn inside the pit.¹¹⁶ This grave too had been marked with a cylindrical cippus and was located near the entrance of a chamber tomb (Tomb 134).

Continuing the warrior theme, a soldier bids farewell to a female figure in both scenes of a red-figure pelike attributed to the Painter of London E489 (fig. 6.19).¹¹⁷ On one side, the woman hands the young man his helmet and holds his shield; another helmet sits on the ground, and greaves are suspended overhead. Since the male figure already wears his greaves, the viewer is left to wonder about the absent soldier whose armor remains. On the other side, the female figure holds an oinochoe as if preparing a libation for the warrior's departure; he is already wearing his helmet and holding his spear, and his shield lies on the ground, waiting to be taken up. The *tomba a pozzetto* where this pelike served as cinerary urn (Tomb 20) was located just south of a tumulus with seventh- and early sixth-century burials, and like others previously mentioned, consisted of cut-stone blocks as well as the cylindrical stone *pozzetto* proper into which the urn was placed.¹¹⁸ Inside the pelike were bronze fragments deformed by the fire, possibly an oinochoe and weapons; fragments of a small ivory vase, possibly an alabastron; the bones of a small animal, perhaps a bird that served as a last offering; and a gold ring, interpreted by the excavators as an "anello matrimoniale."¹¹⁹

Mythological scenes can be found on the two remaining red-figure vases. On an amphora from Tomb 194 attributed to the Flying Angel Painter (fig. 6.20), Eros, hovering over an altar, brandishes



Fig. 6.19 Attic pelike attributed to the Painter of London E489, Tomb 20, Banditaccia necropolis, Caere. Ca. 475–450. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 46942. (Photo by H. Koppermann, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 63.84)

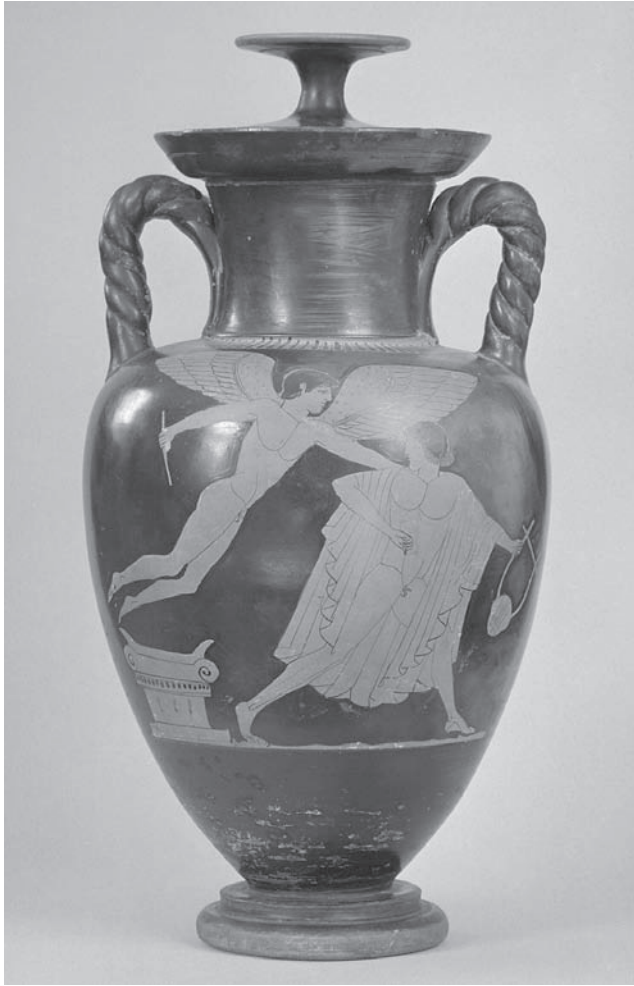


Fig. 6.20 Attic amphora by the Flying Angel Painter, Tomb 194, Banditaccia necropolis, Caere. Ca. 470–460. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 47214. (Photo by F. X. Bartl, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 56.1551)

a whip or short staff and grasps a young man's shoulder.¹²⁰ The youth's lyre confirms his young age and elite educated status, and his muscular body is revealed as his mantle falls away.¹²¹ This vase exemplifies the double perspective of Athens and Etruria: where an Athenian viewer (and the painter himself) would have seen an allusion to homosexual relationships and the pursuit of a young *eromenos*, to the Etruscan viewer selecting the amphora for a cinerary urn, the youth is being snatched from this earth.¹²² Eros may have been interpreted as a winged underworld demon, while the altar recalled funerary sacrifices.¹²³ Although the deceased's age is unknown, an egyptianizing scarab discolored by the pyre was found inside the amphora with the remains. The amphora was itself topped with an Attic black-glazed kylix, recalling similar examples at Tarquinia and perhaps also evoking Early Iron Age biconical urns, likewise prevalent at Caere. A red-figure pelike attributed to the Barclay Painter served as the cinerary urn in Tomb 417 *a pozzetto*, with no accompanying

objects but with a cylindrical cippus marking a male grave.¹²⁴ Here, Hermes brings baby Dionysos to a nymph of Nysa. While not a scene that would reference death in Greek eyes, the role of Turms as leader of souls may have inspired an Etruscan viewer to read it symbolically this way.

VULCI

The discussion of Attic vases used as cineraria at Vulci is hindered by the large numbers of vessels discovered in the early nineteenth century with undocumented findspot. There is no way of knowing whether any of the vases from the Bonaparte, Campanari, or other excavations originally served as ash urns. Subsequent discoveries of cremation burials have been few—inhumation being the preferred local rite—but have included Attic and Etruscan figured vases (the latter of local manufacture: e.g., from the Micali Painter's workshop), as well as nonfigured ware. The three instances with Athenian vases discussed here all feature black-figure amphorae of relatively early date, and all depict deeds of Herakles, noted in previous chapters as a popular subject on vases exported to Vulci.

A Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Timiades Painter and dating from ca. 560 comes from Gsell's excavations in the Polledrara necropolis to the east (fig. 2.5).¹²⁵ The four-chambered *tomba a cassone* from which it came (Tomb XLIX) had been explored and everything removed in Gsell's absence, without good documentation and much to his chagrin. However, he determined that the amphora had been inside Chamber B because of a small pit near the door that was the approximate size of the vase; "d'après un témoignage digne de foi," it contained cremated remains at its discovery, which were emptied before he returned and examined the vase.¹²⁶ He identified some other objects that had originally been in this chamber, including an Italo-Corinthian oinochoe and an aryballos and kylix of Etruscan production, but it is unclear whether any were associated with the cremation burial; since Chamber B had a stone bench, Gsell believed it had housed an inhumation burial as well.¹²⁷ As is typical for the Tyrrhenian Group, the Attic amphora is ovoid in shape and features three superimposed friezes on the body and a ring of lotuses around the neck. The upper frieze of the obverse depicts Herakles fighting the Amazons, with legible inscriptions naming the figures: hand-to-hand duels are underway between Timiades and Pantariste, Herakles and Andromache, and Telamon and Ainipe.¹²⁸ The upper frieze on the reverse shows four male komast dancers between large swans.

Two other cremation burials with Attic vases documented at Vulci were individual tombs with a single deceased. A small *fossa* (trench) grave, discovered in 1998 during rescue excavations in the Osteria necropolis (Tomb B/1998), contained an Attic amphora as the cinerary urn, a bucchero oinochoe, a bucchero kantharos, and a small impasto bowl.¹²⁹ The black-figure amphora, possibly attributable to the Painter of Louvre F6 or his workshop, dates from ca. 550–540 and includes Herakles attacking a centaur, surely Nessos.¹³⁰ Instead of Deianeira in the scene as one might expect, an old man with elaborate robes stands to right. Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell has noted the relatively high incidence of mantled, inactive male spectators of adult age in scenes with Nessos and suggests that these spectators embody the overall message of the story: the symbolism

of Nessos as a “threat to the domestic social order.”¹³¹ For the Etruscan family who chose the vase—as was suggested in connection with the Tyrrhenian amphora featuring this subject in the Caeretan tomb of chapter 3—Herakles’ victory over the centaur would have epitomized his overcoming of obstacles and pointed to his later death and apotheosis.

The final burial is the most elaborate: Tomb 8/1989, discovered next to a large structure found in 1988 in the area southeast of the Cuccumella tumulus.¹³² Because its position relative to the tumulus is consistent with the placement of many Etruscan altars, this structure has been identified with funerary and even ancestral cult.¹³³ Grouped around it were a series of *tombe a cassone* that, based on the meager remains of objects, date from the sixth century; only Tomb 8/1989 on the western side preserved its assemblage intact, although with some damage to the grave goods. Its form follows that of an ordinary *tomba a cassone* with chamber and open-air vestibule, but on a reduced scale, since it was employed for a cremation burial.¹³⁴ With an emphasis on banqueting and soldiering, the assemblage of vases and bronzes almost certainly indicates a male deceased and recalls inhumation burials discussed for Osteria Tombs 47 and 50 (see chapter 4). Attic imports include a Droop cup 21.5 centimeters in diameter with lotus chain decoration and a black-figure Little Master band cup of similar size with what appears to be an athletic scene; both were repaired with lead clamps in antiquity.¹³⁵ Bucchero vessels include an oversized kyathos, oinochoai, a kantharos, and several chalices, while among the bronzes are an oinochoe and a large basin. Bronze spear points and a fragmentary bronze axe evoke the warrior ideal, while a series of bronze, bone, and wood fragments have been identified as parts of a so-called *sgabello*, a type of folding stool that in Etruria served as a marker of social status.

A black-figure amphora attributed to Group E served as the cinerary urn.¹³⁶ One side depicts Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion in a standing position, watched by Athena and Iolaos. The reverse shows Theseus fighting the Minotaur, likewise in a standing position and plunging his sword into the monster’s neck, with a larger gathering of spectators: two male figures at the outer edges, two female figures closer to the fray. The figures to left may be Minos and Pasiphaë, since the man has a beard and wears elaborate robes. The female figure to right is surely Ariadne, holding a crown aloft, while the nude youth at far right may represent an Athenian prisoner. The Herakles/Lion and Theseus/Minotaur duels have been seen on other cinerary vessels in this chapter, a black-figure amphora and a black-figure column krater from Tarquinia (fig. 6.11). The unusual decision to cremate the dead, the rich assemblage, and the proximity of Tomb 8/1989 to the large funerary altar combine to mark someone of high status in the community.

The recent discovery of cremation burials in containers other than Attic vases should be noted. A late sixth-century *tomba a buca* found in 2001 featured an Etruscan black-figure amphora attributed to the workshop of the Micali Painter as the cinerary urn. Examination of the remains revealed that the deceased was a woman twenty to thirty years old.¹³⁷ The grave was found in an area of the *località* Poggio Mengarelli where many Early Iron Age graves had previously been discovered, raising questions as to the deliberate employment of the *buca* form for the burial. The amphora’s decoration includes winged sphinxes, panthers, and lions, all creatures that appear as sixth-century stone

tomb sculptures at Vulci and can be considered liminal and apotropaic in character.¹³⁸ Included among the remains and showing evidence of burning were a bronze fibula and two alabastra that were actually made of alabaster; not only do these recall female grave goods of an earlier age, but they also suggest a woman of means. Bird bones were included, perhaps an offering at the funeral. This burial verifies that women at Vulci could be cremated and interred in figured pottery as well as men, counteracting any assumptions that might arise from the burials with Attic vases above.

FOIANO DELLA CHIANA

The Tuscan site of Foiano della Chiana presents important differences from Tarquinia, Caere, and Vulci. First, although the Etruscan town proper has yet to be discovered, the lack of information from textual or other sources suggests that it was not a significant city along the lines of the other three. Tomb finds suggest that Foiano received Greek imports via various trade routes, but its inland location and relative unimportance likely meant fewer contacts between local inhabitants and actual Greeks. This in turn has implications for any suggestions of hellenization. Second, Foiano and the rest of the Val di Chiana fell under the influence of Chiusi for much of its history, which meant that cremation was the prevailing rite and had been since the Early Iron Age. The Chiusine region had a stronger tradition of creating and employing cinerary urns than other communities examined thus far in this chapter, including the so-called canopic urns of the seventh and early sixth centuries.¹³⁹ With their articulated, sometimes masked faces and their bodies often draped in textiles, these urns exhibited a high degree of anthropomorphization. Most lack documented contexts, but they seem to have been interred with banqueting goods, even seated on thrones or chairs so that the deceased (male or female) could participate in the feast. Such distinctive preexisting customs should be borne in mind as the use of Athenian figured pottery in similar capacities is considered.¹⁴⁰

Helbig's account of an 1879 excavation conducted near the church of San Francesco by Giuseppe Cappanelli and Giacomo Tempora provides our only evidence for the local importation and use of Attic pottery.¹⁴¹ Helbig describes the contents of two "tombe vergini" in detail, having watched their discovery himself, but he notes that sixty other tombs were emptied before his arrival, with black- and red-figure Greek vases dominating those finds. None of the vessels beyond the *tombe vergini* are identified today, but based on the Attic pottery known from these two chamber tombs—which ranges in date from ca. 530–520 until ca. 440—Foiano received imported vases for a lengthy period of time. Initially they probably came to the area from Vulci via Chiusi, while later imports may have arrived from the north via Adriatic sites like Spina.¹⁴² A local demand for figured pottery to use as cinerary urns likely helped fuel the trade to what otherwise was a small inland community of no particular distinction.¹⁴³

Because they were found intact and showed no sign of previous disturbance, and because Helbig relays eyewitness information, the *tombe vergini* provide critical evidence for local practices (figs. 6.21–22). Accepting two tombs as representative of a larger necropolis containing dozens

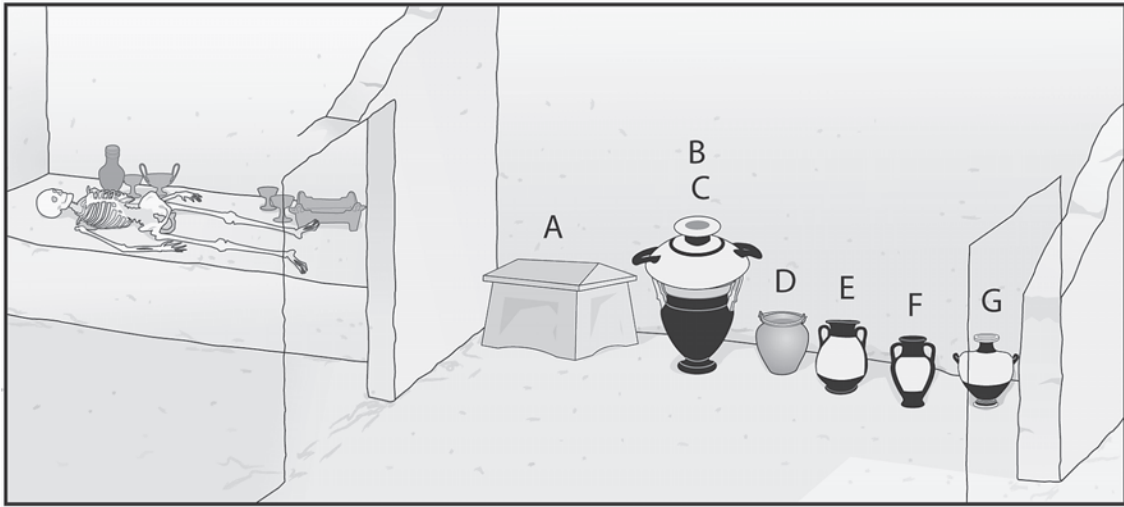


Fig. 6.21 Reconstruction of Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana, based on the 1879 description by Wolfgang Helbig. (Drawing by Valerie Woelfel, rights held by author)

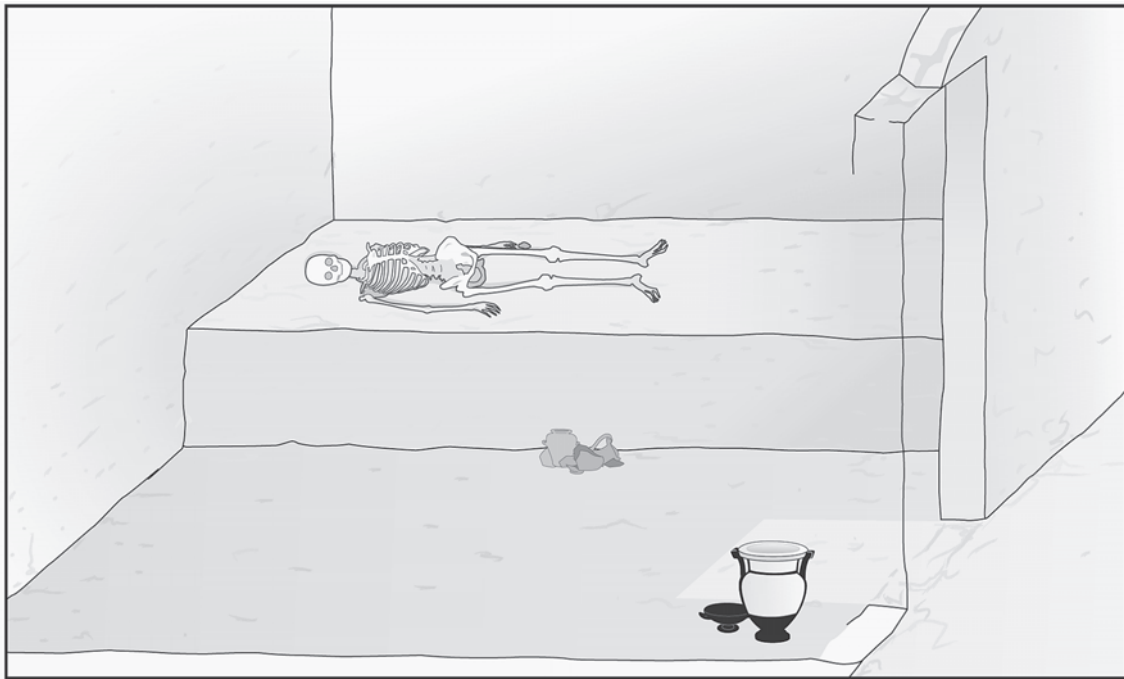


Fig. 6.22 Reconstruction of Tomb Two, Foiano della Chiana, based on the 1879 description by Wolfgang Helbig. (Drawing by Valerie Woelfel, rights held by author)

more undocumented graves presents obvious methodological difficulties; nonetheless, the tombs possess sufficient similarities to suggest larger patterns. In both cases multiple burials are included (seven in what shall be called here Tomb One, two in Tomb Two), and in both cases an inhumation burial with exclusively local (meaning Chiusine) goods is the oldest. In Tomb One (fig. 6.21), the inhumed deceased lay in his (?) own separate, inner chamber; Helbig notes a skeleton along the right-hand wall, resting upon a bench carved from the tufa.¹⁴⁴ The deceased's remains were surrounded by bucchero vessels, including a footed cup, two jars, three chalices adorned with horse protomes, and "un piatto con quattro teste di donna sporgenti sopra l'orlo," a so-called *focolare* or offering tray typical of the Chiusine region. Some of the vessels contained eggshells, remains of the funerary feast and symbolic of the deceased's regeneration.¹⁴⁵ In Tomb Two (fig. 6.22), located forty steps to the south of Tomb One according to Helbig, the inhumed skeleton also lay upon a bench along the right-hand wall, here accompanied by two bronze jugs, many bucchero vase fragments, and, once again, many eggshells. This deceased individual held a piece of *aes rude* in his (?) hand. None of the goods associated with the inhumations are identified today, but from their descriptions the ceramic objects were examples of Chiusine *bucchero pesante* and dated from around the mid-sixth century. These burials seem to pre-date the advent of Greek imports at Foiano and may represent honored ancestors of the two families. Local custom may have dictated the otherwise unusual use of inhumation for such persons, although this cannot be verified without more tombs for comparison.

Athenian figured vases dominate the urns among the cremation burials in both tombs, although two of Tomb One's burials were housed in containers of Etruscan, perhaps even Chiusine, manufacture: a stone urn with roof-like cover and sculpted triglyphs on its long side (fig. 6.21A), a design probably meant to evoke a house, and a "secchia di bronzo," a bronze pail or situla (fig. 6.21D). Neither of these is identified today, despite Helbig's descriptions. As for the Athenian vases, they present a striking range of shapes. The vases that have been conclusively identified in Tomb One include a black-figure volute krater with eye cup serving as a lid (figs. 4.5, 6.21B–C, 6.23), a black-figure pelike (figs. 6.21E, 6.24), and a red-figure hydria (figs. 6.21G, 6.25), while the cremation burial in Tomb Two was interred inside a red-figure column krater (fig. 6.26). The only still-unidentified vase in Tomb One (fig. 6.21F) was described by Helbig as an "anfora"; it could be an actual amphora, or else a pelike, stamnos, or even column krater based on his use of the term elsewhere. Based at least on these two tombs, no one shape is prevalent locally, in contrast to the prominence of neck amphorae for cineraria at Tarquinia or the trio of column kraters in the *tombe a pozzo* at Bisenzio (fig. 6.1). Whether this implies a hodgepodge of shapes being imported into Foiano or a preference for selecting cinerary urns based primarily on iconography (or both) cannot be determined. The imagery of the figured pottery in both tombs is appropriate for a mortuary context: all scenes mesh well with local beliefs while commenting on the deceased's social persona.

In Tomb One, the six cinerary urns—local containers and imported pottery alike—lined the right-hand wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6.21). Judging from the styles and relative chronology



Fig. 6.23 Attic black-bodied volute krater, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 510. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902, inv. 48.29. (Photo courtesy The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)



Fig. 6.24 Attic pelike attributed to the Eucharides Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 500–490. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 253096. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

Fig. 6.25 Attic hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 460. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Edward Perry Warren, 90.156. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

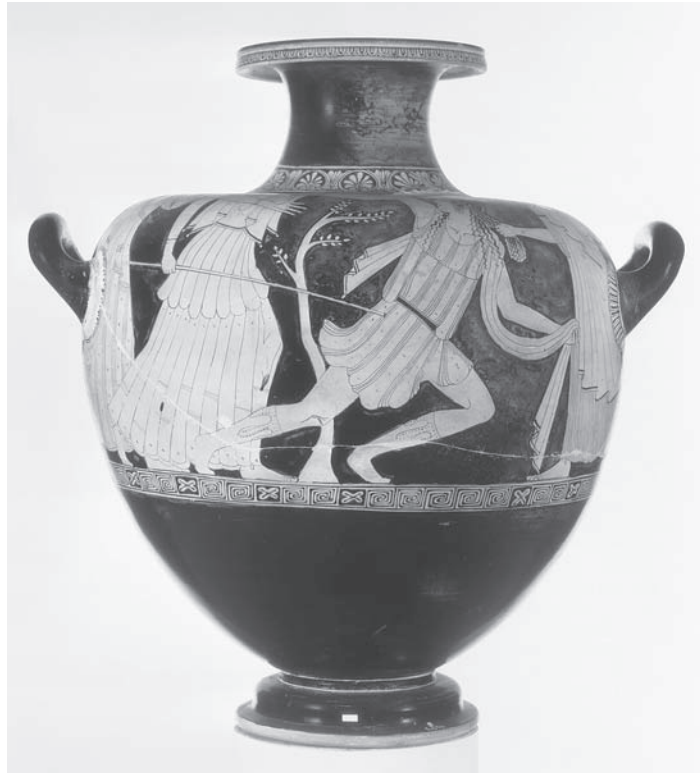


Fig. 6.26 Attic column krater attributed to the Naples Painter, Tomb Two, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 440. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902, inv. 48.67. (Photo courtesy The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

of the Athenian vases, the burials proceeded chronologically from the corner nearest the inner chamber (the stone urn) to that nearest the door (the red-figure hydria), with the entire tomb containing as many as three generations of a single family.¹⁴⁶ Aside from the cineraria, the grave goods in the outer chamber were few and placed along the opposite, left-hand wall. These included fragmentary impasto vessels and bronze implements that Helbig records as being in bad condition: namely, a strigil, two ladles, and what might have been either a meat spit or a *thymiaterion*. Helbig's description does not permit these objects to be linked with any particular cinerary urn(s).

The first and presumably oldest of the Tomb One burials associated with an Athenian vase was placed inside an unattributed black-figure and black-bodied volute krater, nearly 58 centimeters tall (figs. 6.21C, 6.23).¹⁴⁷ Described by Helbig as "un'anfora con manichi a volute dipinti," this pot eluded identification until a 1998 article by Anna Rastrelli, where she matched Helbig's account with a vase in the Walters Art Museum.¹⁴⁸ Henry Walters purchased the krater in 1902 from Don Marcello Massarenti in Rome; Massarenti had published it in an 1897 catalogue of his collection but gave no information about its acquisition or provenience; he also misidentified its scenes as "les jeux olympiques."¹⁴⁹ Herakles wrestles the Nemean Lion on the obverse, watched by Iolaos, a female figure, and the seated Athena. Continuing the theme of combat, a trio of hoplites fight in the reverse frieze, flanked by standing female figures and male figures in various poses, including one with a horse and another mounting a chariot. The krater's iconography could indicate a male deceased, although without the remains for analysis or any accompanying grave goods, it is not possible to verify this suspicion. Confirmed examples of Attic volute kraters being used as cineraria in Etruria are rare despite their large size and elegant shape. In Tomb 749 of the Valle Trebbia necropolis at Spina, a red-figure volute krater attributed to the Boreas Painter and featuring a scene of erotic pursuit held two black-glazed oinochoai and a terracotta alabastron together with the cremated remains.¹⁵⁰ The pursuit scene shows a young man with spears and traveling garb (Theseus?) chasing a young woman, but it is not clear whether the deceased was male or female. The Spina krater's volute handles were almost completely removed before deposition, perhaps a throwback to the Early Iron Age custom of removing the handles of biconical urns.¹⁵¹

In describing the Foiano krater, Helbig states that "sopra l'anfora piena di cenere era posta a guisa di coperchio una grande tazza a figure nere" (fig. 6.21B). Whereas the krater has only recently been identified, the eye cup that served as its lid was recognized decades ago.¹⁵² Truly monumental in scale at 60 centimeters in diameter (74 cm including the handle), it was considered by Beazley to be in the manner of the Lysippides Painter and date to the last third of the sixth century, contemporary with the krater (fig. 4.5).¹⁵³ Propitious divine figures appear on each side between the eyes; one of those trios consists of Herakles, Athena, and Hermes in a scene that likely shows the hero's arrival on Mount Olympos. As on an amphora-turned-cinerarium from Tarquinia discussed earlier in this chapter (fig. 6.9), the labor of the Nemean Lion is paired with Herakles' apotheosis, except here two vases have been purposely juxtaposed. Hermes repeats on the cup's opposite side, together with Dionysos and a satyr, while combat scenes under the eye cup's handles recall the battle scene on the krater's reverse. The iconographic intersection of cup and krater reveals a

meaningful choice by the deceased's family, much like cup/krater combinations from Tarquinia (figs. 6.11–12) and Bisenzio (figs. 6.1–2).

The Foiano eye cup was almost certainly placed upside down over the volute krater, as suggested by the cup's depth and diameter and the krater's volute handles. The addition of a lengthy Etruscan inscription to the cup's foot at some point before deposition further implies that it faced upward (fig. 6.27).¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the text contained information about the deceased, or else wishes for protection that echoed the apotropaic eyes; although the inscription can be transcribed, it cannot be read.¹⁵⁵ When set atop the krater, the eye cup would have had the further, curious effect of anthropomorphizing the whole. One is reminded of the "canopic urns" from the Chiusine region, as well as a notable variation on this custom in a pair of late seventh-century burials elsewhere in the Val di Chiana, one discovered at Poggio alla Sala in 1876 and another just outside Chianciano Terme in 1994.¹⁵⁶ In both cases, thin sheets of gold were placed over the bronze cremation urns and pairs of bone eyes laid on top. Perhaps the deceased's relatives chose the eye cup as a lid for the



Fig. 6.27 Attic eye cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana, view of Etruscan inscription on foot. Ca. 530–520. Detail of fig. 4.5. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 74624, on long-term loan to the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

Foiano Tomb One krater not only because of its size, shape, and imagery—and because it literally and symbolically protected the urn's contents—but because its juxtaposition with the krater resurrected local funerary tradition and revitalized the dead.

Coming next after the lost and presumably Chiusine “*secchia di bronzo*” (fig. 6.21D), the second burial involving an Athenian vase was housed inside “*un'anfora a figure nere di stile avanzato*” per Helbig, identified by Rastrelli as a black-figure pelike by the Eucharides Painter (figs. 6.21E, 6.24).¹⁵⁷ One side depicts a musical concert or contest: a bearded man wearing a long, ungirt chiton plays the kithara, observed by a standing man to left and a seated man to right, both wreathed. A similar subject appears on a second pelike by the same painter used for a cremation burial far away on Samothrace, while three additional black-figure pelikai with kithara players by other painters have known Etruscan provenience, although they lack documented findspots.¹⁵⁸ Musical subjects are frequent throughout Etruscan art, and we have already noted an Attic vase with musical scene used for a Tarquinian cremation burial (fig. 6.14); however, whereas the chelys lyre depicted on the latter is frequent in Etruscan art (although not often played by women) and presumably Etruscan practice, the square-based concert kithara seems to have been much less common there.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps the figure at right on the Foiano pelike was considered the primary character and evocative of the deceased by virtue of his staff and his seated position upon a folding stool, both Etruscan symbols of power and authority that appear in Chiusine funerary art.¹⁶⁰ It is equally possible that the seated female on the pelike's other side stood for the dead person, since the deceased's gender remains unknown and Helbig does not record which scene was most visible in the tomb. Her chair is decorated with a swan's head, and she is flanked by two standing men with staffs, both wreathed and bearded. When women were seated in Etruscan art, it conveyed status and power, just as it did for men.¹⁶¹

With the next cremation burial in Tomb One, not only is the identity of the deceased unknown, but the vase itself is unaccounted for today (fig. 6.21F). Helbig calls it “*un'anfora a figure rosse di stile piuttosto severo*,” with a height of 38.5 centimeters; it is likely to date from the early fifth century, but since Helbig uses the term “*anfora*” for amphorae, pelikai, stamnoi, and even column kraters on occasion, one cannot be certain about its shape.¹⁶² The obverse featured a scene of erotic pursuit: a bearded man with chiton, himation, and scepter, taenia around his head, chasing a long-haired woman with long robes. The man grasps the shoulder of the woman, who looks back in alarm as she tries to run away.¹⁶³ The “*scettro*” implies a scene of Zeus chasing Aegina, if Helbig identified the object correctly.¹⁶⁴ The vase's reverse depicts a wreathed youth enveloped in his himation, flanked by two seated, bearded men, each of whom wears a himation and carries a staff. The pursuit scene was probably considered the primary image; we have already noted an amphora with pursuit used as a cinerary urn at Caere (fig. 6.20), possibly for a male deceased. A red-figure column krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, used as a cinerarium in Tomb 119 of the Certosa necropolis at Bologna, shows a youth in traveling garb (Theseus?) chasing a young woman as two others flee; here, two bronze fibulae of arched shape among the cremated remains suggest a female deceased.¹⁶⁵ Along with the Europa krater from Tarquinia (fig. 6.16), these are to my knowledge the only Attic vases with pursuit scenes used as Etruscan cineraria that include

evidence pointing to the deceased's gender; it is tempting to suggest that the gender of the painted pursued often (if not always) correlated to that of the deceased.¹⁶⁶

The final Attic vase repurposed as a cinerarium in this Foiano tomb is the only one that included any objects among the remains (fig. 6.21G). Helbig mentions a carnelian scarab “tra la cenere deposta in cosifatta idria,” although it was “tanto scomposto dal fuoco” to the point where its incised decoration was unrecognizable.¹⁶⁷ The scarab could indicate a male deceased, although they do appear in female tombs elsewhere as well. The shape employed here—a red-figure hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter (fig. 6.25)—was a surprising choice, not because hydriai were exclusively associated with women in Etruria (at Vulci they were not, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5), but because their narrow necks, which made them ideal for transporting water, must have made them difficult to use as cineraria.¹⁶⁸ I know of another Attic hydria used for an Etruscan cremation burial, from a grave at Spina, where hydriai do seem to have been associated primarily with women; in each case, any practical challenges involved with using the pot must have been outweighed by the attraction of its iconography.¹⁶⁹ The Spina hydria features a domestic scene of textile production; the central female figure works upon a handloom, which would have carried many positive associations.

On the Foiano hydria, a long-haired Orpheus, clad in chitoniskos, boots, and laurel wreath and identified by inscription, falls to the ground at the attack of Thracian women, holding his lyre above his head in vain.¹⁷⁰ Three women surge from left and two from right, the former bearing meat spits, the latter carrying a sword and sickle respectively. The two nearest Orpheus grab him by his long hair as the sword-wielding Thracian prepares to strike the death blow. Unusually for this motif, probably because the hydria offered sufficient space, two male Thracian soldiers frame the composition. One mythological tradition surrounding Orpheus said that the Thracian women were furious because the poet distracted their husbands with his music; vase painters were just beginning to depict Orpheus playing his lyre for the Thracian soldiers at the time this hydria was made.¹⁷¹ Perhaps here they have been enchanted to the point of inactivity, for they do nothing to stop the murder unfolding before them.

Between the unusual choice of subject and choice of shape, one must presume a special reason for the hydria's selection. Other vases with the death of Orpheus have known Etruscan provenience (but undocumented findspots), including three examples from Vulci (e.g., an amphora by the Niobid Painter), three from Spina, a now-lost stamnos originally from Chiusi, and a fragmentary cup from Adria.¹⁷² A red-figure stamnos attributed to Hermonax was said by Beazley to be from Nola but may instead be from southern Etruria, perhaps Caere.¹⁷³ One could presume an association with Orphism for these vases in funerary contexts, except that no firm evidence exists for the cult's presence in Etruria during this period. More likely, the theme of premature death and especially the intimation of human sacrifice appealed to those selecting vases for the tomb (compare discussion of Troilos and Polyxena imagery in chapter 3). In representations of Urphe/Orpheus on fourth-century Etruscan mirrors, the poet's severed head speaks prophecy, and the mirrors themselves may have been used in divination.¹⁷⁴ On the Foiano hydria, the Thracian women

grabbing Orpheus' hair and the woman with sickle seem bent on imminent decapitation. Instead of Orpheus' murder seeming a hopeless act that ends his story, perhaps the Etruscan viewer who selected the hydria as a cinerarium believed his killing led to a transformed existence of another sort, much as cremation fragmented yet transformed the deceased.

In contrast to Foiano Tomb One, with its two chambers and six cremation burials (four housed in Attic vases), Foiano Tomb Two held only one cremation burial, paired with the above-discussed inhumation burial in a single chamber (fig. 6.22).¹⁷⁵ As much as a century separated the two deceased; however, they still could have been members of the same family. Helbig describes “un'anfora a figure rosse, alta 0,40, munita di coperchio,” and near it “una tazza (diametro 0,23) a figure rosse a stile libero,” with no other grave goods. Although the cup remains unattested, in 2014 I identified the “anfora” as a red-figure column krater attributed to the Naples Painter from ca. 440, formerly in the Massarenti collection and now in Baltimore (fig. 6.26).¹⁷⁶ The reverse shows a trio of mantled youths in conversation, while the obverse features a symposion scene of a sort common in the fifth century. Three figures recline on *klinai* with striped pillows: two bearded men to left and right, and a younger, beardless man in the center. They wear fillets around their heads and himations loosely draped around their bodies; the man at right originally held a red bit of ivy vine in his right hand for a wreath (now mostly flaked away). Standing among them is a female figure playing an aulos, a professional musician and possibly a *hetaira* paid to entertain the group, although her dress is comparatively modest and the scene's mood is restrained. An unusual detail is the white *phorbeia* around her face, a strapped device that tied around the head and had holes at the mouth for playing an aulos. On Athenian vases, a *phorbeia* is usually worn by professional male aulos players performing outdoors, presumably to help support their instrument and allow them to control their breath.¹⁷⁷ The performance of the *auletris* is received with enthusiasm by the youngest symposiast. His right arm is crooked over his head in a graceful gesture, and he seems oblivious to his fellow revelers as he gazes at her face.¹⁷⁸

The ability to match the Naples Painter's Baltimore krater definitively with Foiano della Chiana encourages a fresh look at the distribution of his column kraters (and those said to be in his manner).¹⁷⁹ Judging from known findspots, these were primarily exported to Italy, mostly to northern cities under Etruscan influence or control, and to a lesser extent to Greek and Italic communities in south Italy and Sicily. Such a distribution is consistent with mid-fifth-century trade patterns, as exports to southwestern Etruria lessened (although they did not cease completely), and exports to Adriatic sites and Magna Graecia continued to grow.¹⁸⁰ Fifteen column kraters by the Naples Painter derive from the cemeteries at Spina, and another six from Bologna; traders carrying his vases seem to have traveled up the Adriatic coast (with stops in Puglia) to Spina, which served as a gateway port for northern Italy.¹⁸¹ Earlier in its history, Foiano had likely received vases from Vulci via Chiusi, but by this point it likely received them from the north.¹⁸²

Four of the Naples Painter's Spina kraters feature symposion scenes similar to that on the Foiano krater, and certain figures repeat themselves, including the gesturing man who appears at right on the Baltimore vase.¹⁸³ Another figure on one of the Spina kraters, a balding, barbitos-playing

musician, recurs on a column krater by the Naples Painter said to be from Conversano, near Bari in Puglia.¹⁸⁴ To dismiss such standardized scenes and repetitive figures as unoriginal is to subscribe to a modern construct of the fine artist; thus, Martin Robertson speaks of the Naples Painter's "consistently undistinguished achievement," with "achievement" referring to his artistic skills.¹⁸⁵ If one instead considers the Naples Painter as a member of a busy workshop focused on selling vases, then formulaic images like these symposia—favored by many painters even into the fourth century—were a strategy to maximize production and appeal to multiple Greek and non-Greek audiences.¹⁸⁶ As noted in chapter 2, further evidence for the acquisition of batches of the Naples Painter's column kraters comes from a notation under the foot of a vase in Cleveland, where "KO IIII" almost certainly references a group of four "Corinthians."¹⁸⁷

Returning to Foiano Tomb Two and the Etruscan consumer(s) of the Naples Painter's Baltimore krater, we see once more how well its shape and iconography mesh with its function as a cinerarium and with local mortuary practice. Banqueting references and imagery had long been part of Chiusine funerary tradition, as noted with the "canopic urns" at the beginning of this section, while reclining banqueters appeared in the funerary art of the region as early as the later seventh century.¹⁸⁸ An impasto ash urn from Tomb 23 at Tolle, dating ca. 630–620 and discussed in chapter 3, features the fragmentary figure of a reclining male banqueter on its lid.¹⁸⁹ Reinforcing this urn's theme, Tomb 23's deceased was given banqueting vessels to accompany him in death, including a ceramic oinochoe, an impasto kyathos, and a group of cups, most notably a bucchero kylix with frieze decoration. One can also compare banqueting scenes in sixth- and fifth-century Chiusine funerary art; Eoin O'Donoghue has noted that in a sample of about 150 urns and cippi, close to 20 percent represent communal feasting.¹⁹⁰ A late sixth-century example depicts two pairs of male banqueters reclining on *klinai* on its long side, joined by a male aulos player and standing attendant (fig. 6.28).¹⁹¹

Based on Helbig's description, the lost red-figure cup that accompanied the Naples Painter's krater (presumably Attic, but possibly Etruscan) further introduced themes of athletics and soldiering: namely, the departure of warriors. The interior depicted a bearded man standing before a horse, wearing a traveling cloak and *petasos*, and carrying two spears. One of the exterior scenes featured a similar traveling figure between a bearded man with scepter and a young woman with phiale. Here, the traveler was a youth wearing a cloak, with his *petasos* hanging down his back, armed with two spears and a sword on his hip. The other exterior side showed a bearded man with two nude youths, one of whom carried a pair of hand weights (*halteres*) for the long jump.¹⁹² The lack of other objects in the assemblage suggests not only that the cup was intended to equip the deceased for the afterlife and allow him to participate in banquets (perhaps with the ancestor interred nearby in the tomb), but that it may have been used as a libation vessel at the funerary ceremonies. If so, then the scene of departure on the exterior with young woman preparing a libation was appropriate. Together, the imagery of cup and krater conveyed a masculine ideal found throughout locally produced Chiusine funerary art.¹⁹³ The continuity of such a paradigm in the Val di Chiana makes it tempting to suggest that the deceased himself was male.



Fig. 6.28 Etruscan urn with banqueting scene, from Chiusi. Late sixth century. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5501. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

CONCLUSIONS

Recent scholarship on mortuary practice has emphasized cremation as a series of transformative processes rather than a straightforward act of destruction.¹⁹⁴ The deceased's body was consumed, but not annihilated, in an emotional spectacle of fire that would have been particularly memorable in areas where cremation was not the normative rite. The visible metamorphosis of the physical body mirrored changes felt within the family and community because of their loved one's absence and marked another step in the *rite de passage* launched with his or her death. The cinerary urn into which the remains were placed represented the next step. In Etruria, even in the cremation burials of the Early Iron Age, the urn served as a focus of performance, mourning, and memory, a portable version of the tomb itself and a metaphorical rejuvenation of the deceased's fragmented body.¹⁹⁵ It was a way of making the dead present again, albeit in a different form, as the remains were transported from pyre to tomb. Terje Oestigaard describes a cremation urn as "an ideologically transformed multi-vocal container with several functions, characteristics, and properties"; this is certainly true for cineraria in Etruscan burials, which both protected the dead and, if decorated, provided narrative accompaniment to the events at hand.¹⁹⁶ The deceased was literally encased in images that benefited his or her journey and were visible to others as the urn was carried, with the urn's shape and material also conjuring meaningful associations.

This chapter has examined the specific use of Athenian figured pottery as Etruscan cineraria during the sixth and fifth centuries, in large southern cities near the coast that had many contacts with Greeks (Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci) and smaller inland sites where residents may have rarely encountered foreigners (Bisenzio, Foiano della Chiana). Although communities differed with regard to local burial practices, and in each instance the sample of vases with documented contexts is small, significant commonalities emerge. First, at every site discussed here and others besides (e.g., Spina, Felsina/Bologna, and Capua), imported Athenian vases were one of several options for cinerary urns.¹⁹⁷ Etruscan figured pottery (often imported from other communities, except at Vulci), nonfigured ceramic vessels either locally made or imported, and containers in other materials such as bronze, stone, wood, and even cloth were available and used at these sites. Some cineraria discussed here from Bisenzio (fig. 6.1) and Tarquinia (figs. 6.5–6, 6.10) were found in pit tombs that neighbored tombs with Etruscan figured vases. The *tomba a buca* holding the Herakles/Aineias amphora (fig. 6.10) adjoined two others with Attic vases near the Tomb of the Baron, while a fourth contained an amphora attributed to the Micali Painter with a hoplite phalanx, *cornu* player, boar hunt, and Siren on its body and a homoerotic scene on its shoulder.¹⁹⁸ In Tomb One at Foiano della Chiana (fig. 6.21), Attic vases and nonfigured bronze and stone containers of likely Chiusine production shared the same space.

Although functionally the different types of cinerary urns were interchangeable, they probably did not hold the same level of prestige. Bronze and stone urns, where available, were the most expensive and presumably the most desirable; nonfigured local ware and wooden containers the least. Figured pottery, whether Attic or Etruscan, likely fell in the middle in terms of economic and social value. As with inhumation burials, one cannot assume that an Athenian vase signals a wealthy person; sufficient Attic pottery was available in most communities that families could acquire a vessel consistent with their means. Athenian pots served as urns in simpler, starker graves as well as more elaborate burials accompanied by objects of value like bronzes or jewelry. Nor can one assume that Etruscan figured ware was less prestigious or less valuable than Attic, for Etruscan pots can also be found in both simpler and more elaborate burials.¹⁹⁹ A Pontic amphora attributed to the Paris Painter, noted earlier in this chapter—the Paris Painter was long thought to be a Greek immigrant but is now more accepted as an Etruscan—was found in a small Tarquinian chamber tomb with stone benches, together with an Ionian amphora also serving as a cinerary urn.²⁰⁰ Of ovoid shape, the Pontic amphora features a frontal-faced masturbating satyr flanked by heraldic lions on each side, the figures probably interpreted as both liminal and apotropaic. Distribution data show that enough Greek and Etruscan black-figure amphorae were available at Tarquinia that consumers had the advantage of choice, especially in the last decades of the sixth century. Families who chose Etruscan amphorae for their loved ones' urns were not doing so because Attic vases were inaccessible, or vice versa.²⁰¹ Iconography may have inspired particular choices, families selecting urns whose decoration best fit their expectations of how the deceased should be commemorated, protected, and presented in the context of the funeral, where the urn would be displayed for all to see.

When families did select Athenian figured vases as cinerary urns, this did not equate to emulation of Greek funerary practice, nor were these vessels necessarily picked for their Greekness. Athenian figured pottery was treated the same as Etruscan figured ware or other containers for the purposes of the rite. There is no evidence for differences in tomb design, deposition of objects, or treatment of the remains (when available for study) among known cremation burials with Attic vases. Instead, these frequently evoke indigenous traditions. We see this, for instance, with the placement of cups or other objects as lids that recall earlier cineraria (e.g., biconical urns at Tarquinia, “canopic” urns at Foiano); the designs of tombs that mimic examples from the Early Iron Age; and even the strategic placement of cremation graves close to earlier tombs or funerary structures. In a few identifiable instances, the handles were removed from Athenian vases prior to their use as cineraria, recalling a similar widespread tendency with biconical urns.²⁰² Attic vases used as Etruscan cineraria provide potent examples of the integration of imported objects into local practices and traditions, rather than evidence for hellenization.

As a final example, we may consider a cremation burial from a fourth-century *tomba a camera* in the Frontone necropolis of Perugia (ancient Perugia) that employed a fifth-century Athenian vase as the urn (figs. 6.29–30).²⁰³ Discovered in 1886, the tomb had a collapsed roof and may have



Fig. 6.29 Attic bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter, Frontone necropolis, Perugia (Perugia). Mid-fifth century. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 1886.1810. (Photo by C. Rossa, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 75.1820)

been anciently disturbed, so that it is difficult to determine which goods belong with the cremation burial and which with the inhumed deceased also found inside. The presence of two sets of bronze greaves and multiple weapons, plus the absence of any objects clearly relating to women, may indicate that both deceased were men, while the rich assemblage suggests that they were of high status.²⁰⁴ The remains of the cremated deceased were placed inside a red-figure bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter: one side features Triptolemos in his winged cart, performing a libation with Persephone, together with Demeter, Hermes, and an older man with scepter who may be Triptolemos' father, Celeus.²⁰⁵ The theme of libation repeats on the reverse, where Nike, with an oinochoe, joins an enthroned Zeus and Hera, each extending a phiale.

Like other cineraria in this chapter, the krater was a conscious selection in terms of both shape and image. The positive association of Triptolemos and the other represented deities for the Etruscans is discussed elsewhere in this book (cf. fig. 3.21). To suit its new purpose, a sheet of bronze was cut to size and made to serve as a lid: bronze Etruscan statuettes accompanying the krater were likely attached here originally, including the figure of a dog, a woman holding an object that could be a roughly indicated phiale, a winged female figure probably identifiable with the underworld demon Vanth, and another female figure. A bronze statuette of a young man holding a

Fig. 6.30 Attic bell krater
attributed to the Niobid
Painter, Frontone
necropolis, Perugia
(Perugia). Mid-fifth century.
Reverse of fig. 6.29.
Perugia, Museo
Archeologico Nazionale
dell'Umbria 1886.1810.
(Photo by C. Rossa, ©
Deutsches Archäologisches
Institut Rom, Neg.
D-DAI-Rom 75.1819)



phiale, taller than the rest but from the same period, may have also adorned the cinerarium. The inclusion of the Vanth statuette in particular—harmonizing well with the winged Nike of the libation scene—suggests an *interpretatio etrusca* of the krater’s imagery as related to the deceased’s passage to the afterworld, perhaps even joining the gods at banquet (cf. the fourth-century Golini Tomb I at Orvieto). The krater’s apparent choice from among the family’s longtime possessions, dating as it does about a century earlier than the statuettes and other objects in the tomb, enhanced both its poignancy and its value as a funerary offering. The bronze additions, meanwhile, sealed its final transformation from a Greek to an Etruscan object.

The Etruscanization of Attic Figured Pottery

AT SOME POINT IN THE LAST DECADES OF THE SIXTH CENTURY BCE, what must have been a novel object arrived in the Etruscan town of Felsina (Bologna), either brought by a trader or merchant or transported by an owner who had purchased it elsewhere. Standing 53 centimeters in height, this Type A amphora features on its obverse a black-figure scene familiar to Etruscan viewers by that time: Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, here in a standing composition, framed by Athena and Iolaos, the latter holding the hero's club and bow (fig. 7.1).¹ The reverse, however, would have elicited surprise, for what would otherwise be an equally familiar scene of Dionysos was rendered in the recently invented technique of red figure (fig. 7.2). The god holds a kantharos and stands with a female figure holding a phorminx, possibly Ariadne. Both wear richly patterned robes, and they are joined by two satyrs, the one to left holding a pair of auloi. The amphora's propitious imagery, its shape, and perhaps its innovative technique inspired its acquisition and deposition in Tomb 85 of the Arnoaldi necropolis, where it was the sole accompaniment to a cremation burial but did not serve as the cinerary urn.² The deceased's remains, which may have been encased in a textile or wooden chest, were piled outside the vase when the tomb was discovered.

If we take the Bologna amphora's biography back to its beginning in the Athenian Kerameikos, it is one of the first in a group of bilingual amphorae that juxtapose the black- and red-figure techniques; some also have the same subject on both sides, although this one does not. Scholars have debated the attribution of the amphorae—Beazley himself going back and forth on the issue—but the current prevailing view advocates for two painters: the Lysippides Painter for the black-figure images, the Andokides Painter for the red-figure.³ Some believe the Andokides Painter invented the red-figure technique, while the Lysippides Painter already had a prolific career decorating purely black-figure vessels. The potter, Andokides, is known from *epoiesen* signatures on other vases and is



Fig. 7.1 Attic bilingual amphora with black-figure scene attributed to the Lysippides Painter, Tomb 85, Arnoaldi necropolis, Felsina (Bologna). Ca. 520–510. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 18107. (Photo © Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)

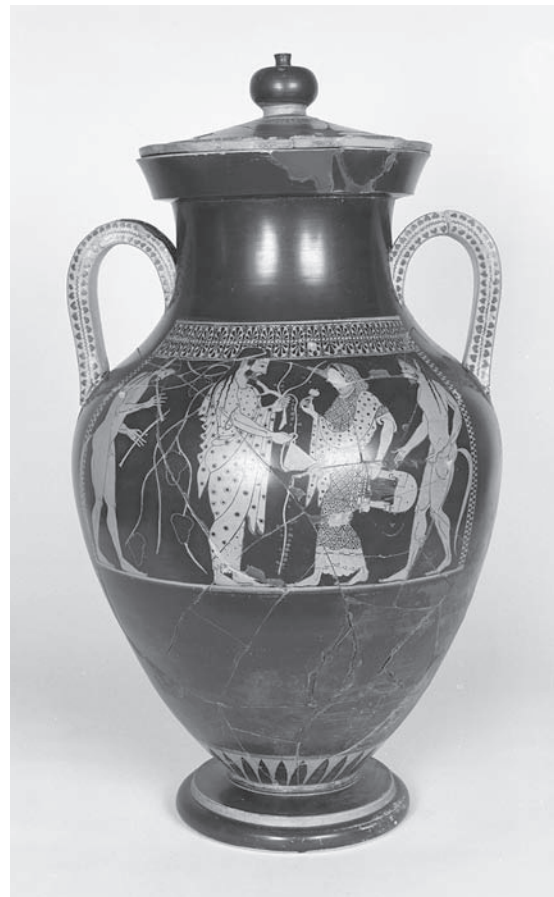


Fig. 7.2 Attic bilingual amphora with red-figure scene attributed to the Andokides Painter, Tomb 85, Arnoaldi necropolis, Felsina (Bologna). Ca. 520–510. Reverse of fig. 7.1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 18107. (Photo © Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)

thought to have learned his craft from Exekias, himself a master of Type A amphorae. Another bilingual amphora from the Andokidean workshop revives Exekias' famous scene of Achilles and Ajax, here a true bilingual with scenes that are similar on either side although not identical.⁴ This latter amphora was found in Orvieto.

Two trademarks under the Bologna amphora's foot tell more of its story: Johnston's type 10E (ME) as a likely post-firing dipinto and type 9E (AP) as a graffito, incised in ligature with a stemless rho. Trademark 9E/AP appears in the same form on three other bilingual Type A amphorae, which all traveled to Vulci; the Bologna amphora may have begun its journey inside Etruria at Vulci as well. Like the Bologna amphora, the Vulci amphorae feature scenes of Herakles. One combines Herakles fetching Kerberos (red-figure) with another scene of Dionysos (black-figure); the second repeats the theme of Herakles and the Lion (here red-figure) together with Achilles and Ajax playing a game or practicing divination (black-figure).⁵ For these two Herakles scenes, the Andokides Painter took a creative approach to filling the compositional space, in the first instance by having the crouching hero gently, even gingerly, approach Kerberos instead of dragging him away, in the second with a kneeling Herakles preparing to body-slam the indignant lion. Only one of the four 9E/AP amphorae carries similar scenes on both sides: Herakles reclines alone at banquet, in the company of a standing Athena on the red-figure side, and, on the black-figure side, Athena and Hermes.⁶ Presumably the banquet takes place after the hero's apotheosis to Mount Olympos. The findspots of the three Vulci amphorae are unknown, since they were discovered during early nineteenth-century explorations, but they all came from tombs.

Distribution data suggest that trader 9E/AP engaged actively with the Etruscan market and with specific Athenian workshops. Eight vases by the Affecter carry the mark: this potter-painter was attuned to the Etruscan market, as discussed in chapter 6, and all eight vases were late in his output, falling within Mommsen's stylistic groups Seven and Eight.⁷ Four of the eight have a known site, and all came from Orvieto. The 9E/AP mark appears as apparently pre-firing glaze dipinti, in apparently Attic script, on five vases attributed to the Leagros Group (three hydriai, two from Vulci, and two amphorae) and later on Euphronios' Herakles/Antaios krater sent to Caere. As noted in chapter 2, pre-firing dipinti imply advance commissions. In addition to the bilingual amphorae, 9E/AP as a graffito can be found on seven black-figure hydriai and amphorae attributed to the Lysippides Painter or said to be in his manner, and it may appear on a bilingual eye cup attributed to the Nikosthenic workshop, as seen in chapter 4. Trader 9E/AP, in other words, had extensive experience with the Etruscan trade, and many vases carrying his mark went to Vulci. His knowledge of local interest in the Type A shape and Heraklean imagery, plus the opportunity to offer something new with the red-figure technique, may have motivated his acquisition of these four bilingual amphorae from the Andokidean workshop, and maybe others that do not survive or do not carry the mark.

In conjunction with others presented in this volume, the case study of trader 9E/AP and the bilingual amphorae exemplifies the symbiotic relationship between workshops, traders, and consumers that defined the Etruscan market for Attic figured pottery. The fortunes of the Athenian

ceramic industry were inextricably entangled with the export trade, to the extent that it is reasonable to ask whether the industry would have reached the same heights of productivity and innovation had the export trade not existed. As trade with Etruria steadily expanded over the course of the sixth century and into the fifth, the number and specializations of pottery workshops grew; the increased confidence and decreased sense of risk that came with a strong foreign market inspired many strategies for tapping into demand and earning profit. One could point to a string of innovations—in imagery, shapes, or techniques—that spanned the heyday of Etruscan export and may have resulted, at least in part, from this favorable situation. In a 2007 article, Dimitris Paleothodoros argues that the red-figure technique itself—often explained as a consequence of creative experimentation, a technical dissatisfaction with black figure, a desire to please elite Athenians attending symposia, or all of the above—developed largely because of the export market.⁸ He emphasizes the findspots of early red figure, noting its relative paucity in Athens compared to Etruria and elsewhere; while he did not introduce trademarks like those on the bilingual amphorae into his discussion, they support his points.⁹ One of the earliest fully red-figure amphorae decorated by the Andokides Painter, which perhaps pre-dates the bilingual examples, went to Vulci and carried trademark type 1B; so did a highly experimental amphora that features a white-figure technique, a unique variation on red figure used here for portraying women.¹⁰

Traders—both Greek and Etruscan, it seems—were the key network component, bringing critical information back to the workshops about local tastes in the Etruscan communities they knew. Sometimes that information translated to an advance commission for a special piece; sometimes an *emporos* requested a certain number of a certain type of vessel, knowing that they would sell. Some workshops took advantage of insider knowledge to tailor shape production for the Etruscan market, the clearest example being the Nikosthenic amphorae of Nikosthenes' establishment (fig. 2.4), although stamnoi (figs. 2.7, 3.22–23) and kyathoi seem also to have been based upon Etruscan vase forms. More often, workshops simply made more of a desired shape, engaging in a form of serial production. Thus, we find many hydriai traveling to Vulci (e.g., figs. 4.15, 4.18, 5.2, 5.6–8, 5.11), neck amphorae to Tarquinia (e.g., fig. 4.6 and examples in chapter 6), and column kraters to Spina. Oversized kylikes (e.g., figs. 1.3–4, 3.11, 3.13, 4.1–2, and other examples in chapter 4) were another product favored not only in Vulci but elsewhere in Etruria. Drinking cups provide a particularly interesting example, given that many scholars link their prevalence and popularity to the Athenian symposion. The rapid succession of new cup shapes during the second half of the sixth century may have been fostered by Etruscan and other external demand as much as—or more than—demand in Athens itself.

Imagery presents a more complicated scenario, or at least a more difficult scenario in which to detect Etruscan influence on Athenian vase painters. Here, too, workshops seem to have had a range of responses to external demand. A minority altered imagery in a way that suited Etruscan taste more than Athenian, the most suggestive example being the work of the Perizoma Group (fig. 2.7), perhaps in response to information from *emporoi* like trader 21A/ΣO. In most instances, workshops made more vases with scenes that sold successfully, maybe hearing from traders that

images of Herakles (e.g., figs. 3.11, 4.5, 4.18, 5.2, 6.9), Dionysos and his *thiasos* (e.g., figs. 2.9, 5.12, 6.2), erotic pursuit (e.g., figs. 2.10, 3.22–23, 6.16, 6.20), or even fountainhouses (e.g., figs. 5.6–8, 5.11)—to give a few examples seen in this volume—had done well on selling trips. Knowing that these sorts of subjects were desired, workshops could feel empowered to expand their repertoire and introduce variations on the theme: for instance, new or different stories of Herakles or familiar stories depicted in a new way.

In taking this position, I argue against the notion of Athenian painters choosing subject matter based solely on their own artistic whims or what Athenian audiences alone wanted or understood. Robin Osborne, for example, has advocated for “Athenian painters producing what interested Athenians, although they did so in the sure knowledge that the Italian and Sicilian markets had never failed to display a voracious appetite for Athenian vases of all sorts, regardless of imagery.”¹¹ Distribution data combined with trademarks speak against the Etruscans buying “vases of all sorts, regardless of imagery,” and documented tomb assemblages like those discussed here, although yielding a small minority in the ocean of unprovenienced vases, likewise show an intentionality in consumption that implies intentionality in acquisition. Consumer choice (and rejection) wields its own weight, and it is through consumer purchasing power that I envision Etruscan buyers impacting Athenian production.¹² Such a model recognizes the initiative of Athenian workshops in generating new imagery and acknowledges that vase painters, for the most part, drew upon Athenian experiences, beliefs, and worldview in their crafting of scenes—in this, I am in agreement with Osborne and others of similar mindset.¹³ I also agree that subjects on exported Attic vases could be equally meaningful to an Athenian audience, even if Athenian and Etruscan viewers might read a scene from different perspectives. But my position diverges from statements like the following (to quote Osborne again): “The range of imagery from which purchasers elsewhere chose was determined by interests and demands at Athens itself rather than by any second-guessing by Athenian painters of the tastes or needs of the export market.”¹⁴ Painters and workshops did not have to second-guess. Traders could tell them what they wanted to know, and the consistency and profitability of the Etruscan market over several decades granted workshops the security, even the freedom, to develop and implement new ideas utilizing this information.

This is not to say that Athenian workshops neglected the home market or that their targeting strategies were aimed solely at Etruria. Many of the same scenes that appeared on vases sent to Etruria appeared on pottery that stayed in Athens: sometimes on the same shapes, often on shapes more locally preferred.¹⁵ Erotic pursuit and Dionysian scenes, for example, can be found on lekythoi, pyxides, and other small vessels deposited in Athenian graves. Certain vase types have long been recognized as primarily aimed at local consumption in Attica through both shape and imagery, including nuptial vases like loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi; krateriskoi associated with the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron and on the Akropolis; and white-ground lekythoi, which could be exported to places like Eretria and Gela earlier in their production series but after the mid-fifth century became more explicitly funerary in subject matter and more exclusively concentrated in Attica.¹⁶ Examples extend beyond Athens and Etruria: John Oakley discusses the

fifth-century fashioning of ceramic beakers for the Thracian market, purposely reminiscent of local metalware, while a nestoris from the area of Rutigliano shows the Christie Painter from the Polygnotan workshop adapting domestic imagery normally found on hydriai to a south Italian shape.¹⁷ The same workshop, even the same painter, could produce for both the Athenian home market and the export trade. Thus, while a substantial part of the Naples Painter's output consisted of column kraters for export—with symposion scenes (fig. 6.26), Dionysian imagery, and other themes—he also painted loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi for home consumption.¹⁸ As of this writing, twenty-one whole or fragmentary loutrophoroi are listed in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database as being by the Naples Painter or in his manner, and seventeen whole or fragmentary lebetes. Nearly all with known provenience come from Athens (such as the Sanctuary of the Nymphē south of the Akropolis), Attica, or sites with a strong Athenian connection like Rheneia on Delos. As one might expect, their imagery is consistent with their function, including, for instance, wedding processions or gatherings of women. One of his loutrophoroi, however, depicts a *prothesis* scene, unusual for this time period and especially unusual for its portrayal of a female deceased.¹⁹ The Naples Painter's hometown familiarity with Athenian use of the loutrophoros as a funerary as well as nuptial vessel is revealed through this choice.²⁰

A meaningful parallel for the complexities of the Attic pottery trade—albeit on a larger scale and with greater physical and cultural distance between producers and many consumers—can be found in the Chinese porcelain industry of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, centered particularly on the potteries of Jingdezhen.²¹ Jingdezhen porcelain formed just one part of an intricate system of trade goods and networks that involved Chinese, Dutch, Portuguese, and Turkish middlemen and reached consumers across the globe. Attuned to their markets at home and abroad, Jingdezhen workshops simultaneously produced high-quality porcelain for the imperial court; lower-quality, mass-produced blue-and-white *kraak* ware for European export; and special shapes with special decoration, including Arabic inscriptions, for Islamic consumers in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere. As merchant firms such as the Dutch East India Company recognized the appeal of Jingdezhen ware back home—and the opportunity for substantial profit—they provided the potteries with wooden models of new shapes to create, which were alien to China but would satisfy European needs, such as mustard pots and punch bowls. Often these still carried Chinese subjects to satisfy perceived foreign tastes for exoticism; at other times European scenes were melded with Chinese motifs to create a more hybrid iconography, prints and drawings being another way in which European imagery was ferried back to Jingdezhen. Commissioned export porcelain came to include high-quality armorial porcelain for specific families and vessels whose iconography was so completely European or even colonial American that their Chinese origins were nearly obscured. Not surprisingly, demand for porcelain inspired competing workshops in Japan, Germany (Meissen), the Netherlands (Delftware), and Britain (Wedgwood), which led Jingdezhen potteries to introduce innovations in an attempt to maintain their primacy (e.g., new color schemes such as so-called *famille rose* and *famille verte*).

Much scholarship on Chinese porcelain has stressed its economic role in early modern trade as well as its artistic influence—namely, its contribution to a global visual idiom.²² Recent scholarship, however, has investigated consumer response to and appropriation of porcelain in a more nuanced way.²³ Contrary to past assumptions, imported Chinese porcelain was accessible to groups other than the elite in places like Britain and the Netherlands, especially as time went on; a family who could not afford a complete dining service might own a piece or two, treated with special care, repaired if needed, and kept for generations.²⁴ Chinese porcelain appeared in many different physical spaces and cultural contexts in the west and east—from European dining tables and curiosity cabinets to Muslim tombs and holy places. Not all buyers and users of porcelain focused on its exoticism, and not all took its Chinese identity or origin into account.²⁵ Scholars speak less nowadays of foreign consumers misunderstanding porcelain and its decoration and more of the selective integration of imported ware into local belief systems and material culture.²⁶ Anne Geritsen, for example, discusses the “domestication” of Chinese porcelain and other imports into Dutch material culture, arguing that “the bodily experiences of vision and touch—both in different ways experiences of possession . . . shape these global objects and transform their globality into Dutchness.”²⁷ Consumers are granted more agency in their acquisition and use of porcelain and are less apt to be cast as passive recipients of foreign goods admired for their otherness. Conversely, the agency of Chinese porcelain workshops is affirmed through their multifaceted interactions with different consumer groups.

The shifting historiography of Athenian figured pottery mirrors that of Chinese porcelain in many ways, including, as argued here, its consumption in Etruria. A unidirectional model that characterizes Attic or other Greek vases as symptoms or even enablers of hellenization is increasingly accepted as old-fashioned, even colonialist, with case studies in this volume and elsewhere instead showing the selective appropriation exercised by Etruscan consumers. The likely participation of Etruscan traders along the networks that vessels traveled strengthens the sense of Etruscan agency. The epigraphic evidence of sanctuaries and *emporia* in Etruria and elsewhere attests to a cosmopolitan world in which Athenians and other Greeks played only one part; Etruscan goods, too, were more mobile than is often supposed, with bucchero and metal objects circulating in the eastern Mediterranean at the same time Attic vases were finding their way west, and even earlier.²⁸

In evaluating the range of Etruscan responses to imported Attic pottery, the concepts of globalization and glocalization as applied to the ancient Mediterranean provide a useful framework.²⁹ “Globalization” in this sense refers to the propagation of a visual and material *koine*, the spread of objects and imagery from various cultures across the basin, resulting in a fairly universal visual language. Although Greek art played a seminal (but not exclusive) role in shaping this *koine*, this process does not equate to hellenization, a model that implies not only unidirectional influence but also passive reception from a culture perceived as superior. Rather, the complement to globalization is glocalization: a process in which those exposed to globalizing influences do not accept them uncritically but adopt new practices and products selectively, with discernment and attention to

local needs and values. Glocalization of Attic figured pottery by the Etruscans manifested itself in three particular ways. First, the conscious adoption and rejection of different shapes and iconographies among different communities impacted production in the Kerameikos. To take the example of hydriai, Vulcian preference for this shape contrasts with the contemporary presence of kraters elsewhere, including nearby sites like Caere and Tarquinia. Availability had nothing to do with Vulcian rejection of the krater; I have suggested that local reverence for the *culto dell'acqua* played a role in the acquisition of hydriai and their deposition in tombs. Traders and, by extension, workshops learned of this purchasing habit, and although neither may have been fully aware of the reasons behind it, they obliged by providing hydriai in black and red figure, with subjects determined to appeal to Etruscan consumers. One can go further and note the specific Vulcian preference for shoulder hydriai, whose sharp, angled profile and other details evoked metallic vessels while introducing rich narratives on shoulder and body.³⁰ Hydriai of the rounded kalpis shape made their way to Vulci once the revamped form was introduced in the last decades of the sixth century (fig. 2.10), yet some workshops continued to produce the more archaizing version, perhaps purposely for export (fig. 2.3).³¹

This particular example brings us to a second and overlapping demonstration of glocalization: the actual use of Attic vessels in Etruria, which sometimes mirrored Greek use and associations but often did not. The widespread practice of depositing large pottery in graves, seen from early in the days of Attic imports, marks a departure from Athenian practice in itself. So too does the tendency to focus on banqueting within the mortuary assemblage and, in many cases, to include a number of vessels there. Etruscan perception of the imagery on vases could parallel Greek readings or diverge from them with an *interpretatio etrusca*. The placement of figured pottery in tombs, for example, could grant scenes, characters, or motifs an eschatological subtext unintended by their painters. One thinks here of pursuit scenes (figs. 3.22–23, 6.20), especially those with winged figures, who may have evoked underworld demons; scenes of warriors' departures and arrivals (fig. 3.19); and scenes of heroic deeds, which could be read as metaphors for overcoming the obstacle of death (figs. 4.17–18). Scenes of sexual activity (fig. 3.1) and the eyes of eye cups (e.g., fig. 4.1) may have signaled the liminality of the tomb space and even functioned apotropaically.

Finally, we may briefly consider the Etruscan response to Athenian figured pottery through the production and use of locally made black- and red-figure vases. Workshops at places like Vulci and Caere adopted the techniques and some shapes favored by Athenian *kerameia* for audiences across southern Etruria. They did not, however, produce all the shapes seen among imported vases, and rarely can Etruscan figured pottery be described as true imitations of Athenian ware.³² Paralleling the consumption of imported vessels, Etruscan workshops exercised selectivity according to the needs of their clientele and what they anticipated would sell.³³ The imagery of Etruscan pottery diverges most intriguingly from Greek imports.³⁴ Despite the clear taste for mythological narrative seen with Attic and other Greek vases (including Lakonian and some Corinthian vessels), such stories are less common among Etruscan vases, with occasional exceptions like some (but not all) deeds of Heracles and Trojan War episodes like the ambush of Truile by Achilleus. When myths

like these did appear, often they were altered in ways that elucidated their message for Etruscan viewers. As seen in chapter 3, for example, iconographic changes to scenes of Achle and Truile foreground the myth's sacrificial and possibly prophetic themes. More consistent across various Etruscan fabrics are emblematic, often hieratic, figures of animals and monsters, by then an uncommon motif on Athenian vases but still important enough to Etruscan consumers to merit production.³⁵ Some have argued that Etruscan pottery was cheaper and/or easier to get than Attic and this explained its appeal, but the presence of Etruscan vases in wealthier tombs—especially the coexistence of Attic and Etruscan figured ware in the same tombs—suggests otherwise, as does its appearance in many of the same communities.³⁶ Etruscan workshops were savvy in their own right, glocalizing the influence of imported Athenian vessels in ways that complemented yet competed with the latter, and offering locally meaningful alternatives to customers who may have wanted them.³⁷

Given the range of glocalizing responses to imported Attic pottery, we are left with the question of what role was played by its Athenian, or even its Greek, identity. These vases were foreign objects, but did Etruscan consumers *perceive* them as foreign and grant them special status on that account?³⁸ Any otherness—but not necessarily Athenian-ness—likely mattered the most at the time of this pottery's earliest appearances in Etruria, when Attic vases were not widely available either geographically or in terms of affordability. Chiusi and other sites of the Val di Chiana offer interesting circumstances before the mid-sixth century: despite being far from the coast and presumably far from sustained contact with Greeks, local elites coveted Athenian pottery, receiving black-figure dinoi, kraters, and other shapes as they did smaller East Greek and Corinthian vessels, likely via Caere.³⁹ Based on known find contexts, most such vases were placed in tombs, where they joined other prestige items in metal or ceramic. Through their craftsmanship, novelty, and recognizably foreign nature, these vessels signaled the deceased's wealth and status as they were carried in procession to the cemetery or, if used in life as well, set out at a banquet.⁴⁰ Examples include fragmentary dinoi and kraters from Tomb 2 of Sodo Tumulus II near Cortona, whose original placement cannot be discerned because of later disturbance but which formed part of a banqueting assemblage that also featured bucchero, locally made impasto pottery, and Corinthian imports.⁴¹ The tomb likely included metal vessels as well, since robbed.

At the same time, although the terms "symposion" and "sympotic" are often linked to these vessels, from the beginning they were integrated into local banqueting and burial traditions. Even if valued as Greek products, they do not in themselves indicate the adoption of Greek customs.⁴² Their iconography meshed well with aristocratic concerns: Herakles, for example, or figures related to wine consumption such as satyrs and komasts. A fragmentary black-figure dinos, found in the nineteenth century but recently identified as deriving from the Fonte Rotella necropolis of Chiusi, depicts a favorite subject, the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis; along with its mythological associations, this festive tableau served as a paradigm of marriage and aristocratic power, while possibly referencing the journey of the deceased within the tomb context.⁴³ One is reminded of the procession scene showing a likely male-female couple in a cart on the early sixth-century

terracotta plaques of Murlo, where the message of power is evident and incorporates women as well as men.⁴⁴ It is possible that the Fonte Rotella and other Attic dinoi actually belonged to Etruscan women. Three locally made impasto dinoi from two late seventh-century tombs at Caere carry inscriptions of female ownership, the two from the Tomb of the Dogtooth Frieze (Tomba dei Denti di Lupo) reading *mi pupai(a)s thina karkanas* and *(mi) pupaias karkanas thina*: “I am the *thina* [dinos] of Pupaia Karkana.”⁴⁵ If this was also the case with Attic dinoi here and elsewhere, then it marks a definite departure from the Greek symposion and represents another example of foreign vases being glocalized into a local custom.

The François Vase of Kleitias and Ergotimos (fig. 3.6) belongs to this early milieu. As Mario Iozzo and Christoph Reusser have stressed, recent research and discoveries—including the Cortona finds and recontextualized Fonte Rotella dinos—reposition this krater as one example of an ongoing central Etruscan interest in Attic imports rather than a unique specimen in the region.⁴⁶ Like the dinos, it too was included in a banqueting assemblage, in a multichambered tomb of the Fonte Rotella necropolis of Chiusi; archival investigations have reunited two Samian janiform kantharoi, an Attic black-figure lekanis with animal frieze, and an Attic black-figure plate attributed to Lydos and depicting the Judgment of Paris with this tomb and possibly with the same burial.⁴⁷ Recent technical analysis clarifies yet complicates the krater’s biography. The interior shows evidence of the use of metal utensils for measuring and mixing, negating the idea that it was purely for display.⁴⁸ Whether it was used in Athens or Etruria, however, remains a question: a series of symmetrical holes around both handles have been confirmed as ancient repairs, likely following an accident where someone tried to pick up the krater and the handles became detached.⁴⁹ Traces of lead suggest that the repairs took place in Athens, not Etruria, where, as noted above, such work was done in bronze.⁵⁰ The extent and placement of repairs further compromised the vessel’s walls and may have meant that it was no longer watertight. If so, the evidence of usage implies that the krater was made for an Athenian customer, but after being broken and repaired, it was sold on the secondhand market to Etruria, where a trader knew it would find a buyer.⁵¹ Its acquisition in Chiusi may have been specifically for the tomb, where it made a fine display at the funeral and served as a worthy offering despite its possible lack of functionality as a mixing vessel.⁵² Its Greekness was clear from its many inscriptions, which may have added to its appeal, but the rich narratives also suited local taste. There is no reason to think Chiusine viewers were unfamiliar with the stories represented, and, as with other imported vases of the period, the myths on the François Vase lent themselves well to elite sensibilities.⁵³ The procession of Peleus and Thetis repeats here as the principal frieze, and other subjects like the pursuit of Troilos, Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, and Calydonian Boar Hunt would recur on imported Attic vases in the decades that followed.

As Athenian pottery came to dominate the export market, and as vases flooded many Etruscan communities and consumers of non-elite status could acquire them, the sense of alterity would have diminished.⁵⁴ It would not have ceased completely; Euphronios’ Arezzo krater (fig. 1.1), for example, may have seemed exotic in a place where Attic imports were still relatively few. As Diamantis Panagiotopoulos observes with regard to imports across the Bronze Age Mediterranean,

there must have been a “constant tension between [an] import’s integration into local social practices and its alien virility.”⁵⁵ In the case of Attic vases in Etruria, perceptions of otherness depended upon such factors as the degree of local availability and the uniqueness of the vessel in question. But would a vase’s Greek and specifically *Athenian* identity have mattered? After a vase had changed hands many times, it seems doubtful that a merchant in Etruria knew much about its Athenian lineage. Even if a vase was purchased from someone who could say “this came from Athens,” we cannot be sure that information carried any particular cachet—and it almost certainly did not convey the sort of prestige Attic figured pottery enjoys in modern times.

We may consider here the case of Panathenaic prize amphorae, which stand out among imported vessels for several reasons: the inscriptions that unambiguously proclaimed their Athenian origins for those who could read them; their similarly unambiguous original purpose as prizes for an Athenian festival (i.e., their production and imagery were not targeted in any way to Etruscan consumers); and the fact that, unlike the majority of imported vases (with possible exceptions like the François Vase), they were traded on the secondhand market.⁵⁶ They were also, as noted in chapter 1, the vessels whose discovery in Athens during the nineteenth century helped settle the question of the origins of Attic vases. Trade in prize amphorae raises many questions, the most critical of which is whether they were sold and bought for the sacred oil they held or were traded empty, purely as decorated vessels. The Attic Stelai of the late fifth century attest that empty prize amphorae could be purchased in Athens, at least at that time (and, at 2.7–3.4 obols apiece, apparently for lower prices than new vessels of the day). Yet inscriptions in Ionian dialect referencing measurements and quantities on some prize amphorae found in Etruria show that oil may have been the primary product.⁵⁷ Some of these inscriptions appear on the shoulders or lips of vases instead of a less conspicuous position, such as under the foot, verifying this impression.

The special circumstances of prize amphorae suggest that they could be handled by different traders and merchants than those usually involved in the vase trade—not to mention the possibility that the winning athletes themselves may have taken them to various destinations—making their distribution data difficult to decipher.⁵⁸ That being said, an expected pattern exists in the surviving corpus. During the sixth and fifth centuries, the majority of prize vases stayed in Athens, with findspots in the Kerameikos, in the Agora, and (predictably) on the Akropolis itself.⁵⁹ Many have surfaced in Greek cities and colonies elsewhere, especially in sanctuaries, where perhaps athletes dedicated them, and less frequently in tombs, as for instance in Taranto.⁶⁰ Given the quantity of Attic vases otherwise exported to Etruria, the number of prize amphorae found there is surprisingly small. Even more puzzling is the limited number of sites where they appear. Thirty-three prize amphorae in Martin Bentz’s 1998 catalogue were found in Vulci, seventeen dating to the sixth century, sixteen to the first half of the fifth. Known Etruscan proveniences from this period additionally include one from Orvieto, one from Spina, and two from Felsina/Bologna, all three sites otherwise receiving substantial amounts of Attic pottery. Not one prize amphora has a known Tarquinian provenience, despite the interest in athletic imagery there, as documented on tomb walls. Caere may have been the source of some prize amphorae in the Louvre, formerly in the

Campana collection—including the vase given a *śuthina* inscription (fig. 3.14)—but this cannot be confirmed. Pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae with imagery in the canonical style but lacking a prize inscription (and often smaller) do appear in Etruria as well (cf. fig. 4.12); Athenian workshops may have intended them as supplements to meet the demand for prize amphorae. Whether Etruscan consumers would have associated pseudo-Panathenaics with Athens without the inscription is another question. Perhaps more tellingly, Etruscan potters did not produce their own versions of the shape, nor do we see recognizably Panathenaic imagery on surviving Etruscan figured vases.⁶¹

Panathenaic prize amphorae represented the ultimate emblemization of Athenian ambitions and perceived cultural supremacy. Their distinctive shapes, imagery, and inscriptions were intended to commemorate and advertise the festival (and the city) to anyone who came in contact with these vases. And yet, in the few instances where documented Etruscan tomb assemblages featuring the amphorae can be examined, they do not seem to be differentiated from other imported vases or indeed from other objects because of their origins or unique shape.⁶² Their iconography may have been the most important factor behind their selection and deposition, but even then, the specifically Athenian nature of the imagery appears less significant than the local significance of Athena/Menerva and the association of athletics with funerary games. In Chamber B of Tomb LXXIX at Vulci, a Panathenaic prize amphora by the Euphiletos Painter (figs. 7.3–4) was deposited together with spearpoint fragments, suggesting a male deceased; a ceramic olpe, presumably of local manufacture; fragments of a large bucchero cup, also presumably of local manufacture; a smaller, black-glazed cup; a small alabaster alabastron; a small ivory box; and an oversized (diam. 32.5 cm) Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Epeleios Painter and likewise dating from the late sixth century (fig. 7.5).⁶³ The assemblage is comparable to other Vulcian *tombe a cassone*—including Chamber A next door (figs. 4.9–10)—in its focus on banqueting, status, and male identity and its inclusion of an amphora, regardless of that amphora's origin and particular shape.⁶⁴ In addition to Athena on its obverse, the prize amphora shows the long-distance foot race (*dolichos*) on its reverse. Two additional prize amphorae representing the *dolichos* were discovered in nearby tombs during the Bonaparte excavations, while other examples sent to Vulci show the *stadion*.⁶⁵ Three of the *stadion* amphorae are likewise attributed to the Euphiletos Painter; the nearly identical details of Athena's drapery and weaponry (aside from her shield devices) suggest that they were created for the same festival year.⁶⁶ This may mean that they were simultaneously sold on to the secondhand market by the athlete who won them and maybe even taken to Vulci by the same trader.

As for the Epeleios Painter's cup (fig. 7.5), while its decoration features draped youths in conversation, in the center of one exterior side sits a bearded man on a folding stool, whom the Etruscan viewer likely interpreted as analogous to the deceased. The iconography of the cup juxtaposed with the prize amphora recalls Etruscan funerary images in which seated figures, thought to be the deceased, watch funerary games or other celebrations in their honor, as for instance the paintings of the Tomb of the Jugglers at Tarquinia and the Tomb of the Monkey (Tomba della Scimmia) at Chiusi, with a seated man and woman respectively.⁶⁷ Indeed, Tomb 110 of the Arnoaldi necropolis at Bologna, which held two Panathenaic prize amphorae attributed to the Achilles

Fig. 7.3 Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, Chamber B, Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 530–520. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 99.520. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Fig. 7.4 Panathenaic prize amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, Chamber B, Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Reverse of fig. 7.3. Ca. 530–520. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 99.520. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Painter, may have belonged to a woman.⁶⁸ No less than if they had been marked with a literal *śuthina* inscription “for the tomb” (like fig. 3.14), these and other Panathenaic prize amphorae were effectively etruscanized into their new surroundings.

The question of why Athenian vases appealed to the Etruscans is more complex than it appears at first glance. An Etruscan consumer at Vulci, Tarquinia, Foiano della Chiana, or elsewhere purchased an imported vessel for reasons that were personal and dependent on the circumstances of the individual and his or her family, varying from day to day, place to place, transaction to transaction. Many factors could have contributed to a vase’s desirability at a particular moment; aesthetic qualities and associations (shape, imagery, technique), cost, intended function, and intended viewership doubtless played a role.⁶⁹ Many scholars have argued that shape was a dominant or even deciding factor for both producers and consumers of export ware; John Boardman summarized this view with the statement: “It was vases that were exported, not images.”⁷⁰ In contrast, this study has stressed the essentiality of iconography and asserted that image cannot be divorced from shape, in terms of either consumers’ choices or those of workshops and traders. Case studies featured here suggest that in many instances imagery may have superseded shape in an Etruscan consumer’s decision, and a broader sample of documented assemblages would surely reveal more such situations.

Greekness itself—the traditional explanation for the Etruscan desire to acquire Attic figured pottery, fed by modern admiration for Greek art—may have appeared far down the list of reasons, especially wherever and whenever this pottery was widely available and affordable to a range of social classes. Figured vases, regardless of origin, attained value for the ways in which they could



Fig. 7.5 Attic kylix attributed to the Epeleios Painter, Chamber B, Tomb LXXIX, Polledrara necropolis, Vulci. Ca. 510. Bryn Mawr College P96, Gift of Joseph Clark Hoppin, Professor of Archaeology. (Photo courtesy Bryn Mawr College Special Collections)

fulfill a consumer's needs and could be integrated, even transformed, to suit local practices and belief systems. Instead of making Etruscans seem more Greek, Athenian vases—like local objects and even other foreign imports—were used to reinforce individual, family, or community identity.⁷¹ Narrative decoration was one of the special qualities Attic figured pottery offered to Etruscan viewers in this endeavor, as witnessed by the predilection for certain subjects in certain communities, and, in many documented assemblages, the meaningful juxtaposition of scenes on Athenian vases with those on other pots to spark an iconographic conversation. The same vessel could have two Etruscan lives: first used at home, then later placed in the grave, where it acquired yet another set of associations. By that time, Attic figured vases were no longer Athenian or even Greek. They had become fully Etruscan, until their modern rediscovery made them Athenian once again.

Notes

CHAPTER 1. THE MANY LIVES OF ATHENIAN VASES

1. Arezzo 1465: *ARV*² 15.6, 1619; *BAPD* 200068 (with many references); Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 115–19, cat. 13 (M. Iozzo); Gaunt 2002, 509–10, cat. 1.
2. Early collecting of Attic vases, including debates over production: Sparkes 1996, 34–63; Burn 1997; Cook 1997, 275–86; Rouet 2001, 1–24; Nørskov 2002, 27–71; Ceserani 2012, 165–79; and further references below.
3. Dempster 1723–26, vol. 1, pl. 19. Background to publication: Cristofani 1978.
4. Passeri 1767–75, pl. 163. See Masci 2008 for commentary, and 417, cat. 157, for the Arezzo krater.
5. Neapolitan vase trade: e.g., Lyons 1992, 2007; Jenkins 1996; Masci 2007. Cf. also Masci 2014.
6. E.g., Jenkins 1996, 51–52; Burn 1997.
7. Bonaparte and Vulci: e.g., de Angelis 1990; Buranelli 1995; Natoli 1995; Della Fina 2004; Nørskov 2009; Costantini 2017 and other essays in Halbertsma 2017; all with further references. For other collections: Buranelli 1991 (Candelori collection); Wehgartner 2012 (Feoli collection, initially published in Campanari 1837).
8. Buranelli 1991, 12–14; Nørskov 2009, 64–65. Exekias amphora, Vatican 344/16757: *ABV* 145.13, 672.3, 686; *BAPD* 310395; Mackay 2010, 327–51; Bundrick 2017, including 59, fig. 4.
9. E.g., Bonaparte 1829a, 1829b, 1831.
10. Gerhard 1831; see also Costantini 1998.
11. Burgon amphora, London B130: *ABV* 89.1; *BAPD* 300828; Corbett 1960, 52–58.
12. Bonaparte 1829b, 51.
13. Brøndsted 1834.
14. Bonaparte 1829c, countering Wolff 1829; cf. Ceserani 2012, 176–77.
15. Müller 1832; cf. Ceserani 2012, 178–79.
16. Müller 1832, 102.
17. Müller 1832, 103.

18. Böckh 1832. Müller's partial recantation is noted in Bunsen 1834, 43.
19. Nørskov 2002, 71. For the history of attribution studies: Rouet 2001; Masci 2014; Arrington 2017.
20. Ceserani 2012.
21. E.g., Boardman 1999, 198–209 (later edition of a book first published in 1964), with critiques in Small 1991–92 and Izzet 2007b.
22. Richter 1904–5, 237–38. Rebuttal regarding Athenians' "simple" tastes: e.g., Vickers 1985–86, 1987.
23. Furtwängler and Reichhold 1909, 1–14, pls. 61–62. One or both of the komast neck friezes may be by a different hand, the painter Smikros, as argued in later scholarship, although Guy Hedreen has proposed that Euphronios and Smikros are the same person (e.g., Hedreen 2016a, 22–58).
24. Louvre G103: *ARV*² 14.2, 1519; *BAPD* 200064; Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 67–76, cat. 3; Johnston 2006, 119, cat. 9E10. For the Campana collection, Sarti 2014.
25. At the Louvre (catalogue: Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990) and in Arezzo and Berlin in 1990–91. Two other painters with this distinction are the Amasis Painter in 1985–86 (New York, Toledo, and Los Angeles) and the Berlin Painter in 2017 (Princeton and Toledo; catalogue: Padgett 2017).
26. Currently Museo Nazionale Cerite di Cerveteri (formerly Villa Giulia, ex Metropolitan Museum 1972.11.10): *Beazley Addenda*² 396; *BAPD* 187 (with many references); Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 77–88, cat. 4. Collecting history: Silver 2009; Gill 2012.
27. R. Kennedy and H. Eakin, "Met Chief, Unbowed, Defends Museum's Role," *New York Times*, 28 February 2006, accessed online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/28/arts/28mont.html> (24 May 2016).
28. Bundrick 2005 shows this tendency, I admit, despite the Etruscan contexts of many vases.
29. Webster 1972, 296–300. Bundgaard Rasmussen 2008 revives the theory of the secondhand market.
30. Secondhand Panathenaic amphorae are listed on the so-called Attic Stelai for sale at 2.4–3.7 obols; see Amyx and Pritchett 1958, 276–77. It has been suggested that the François Vase, found at Chiusi, was traded on the secondhand market (Iozzo 2013, 61); see chapter 7.
31. E.g., Vickers 1987; Gill 1988a, 1994. "Spacefillers" and "little more than profitable ballast": e.g., Gill 1991, 35.
32. Gill and Vickers 1995, 232. Metalwork and its influence: e.g., Vickers 1985; Gill and Vickers 1989, 1990.
33. Boardman 1987, 1988a (a response to Gill 1988b), 1988b. See also D. Williams 1996.
34. E.g., Foxhall 1998; Krotscheck 2008, 92; D. Williams 2013, 54.
35. E.g., Osborne 1996; de la Genière 1999; Stissi 1999b. See also chapter 2.
36. "Early" studies of vases in Etruria include Martelli 1979, 1989; Moon 1983b; Lissarrague 1987; Hannestad 1989, 1991, 1999; Rendeli 1989; Tronchetti 1989; Spivey 1991; Small 1994b; Lewis 1997; Rastrelli 1998; Isler-Kerényi 1999; with additional references throughout this volume.
37. Hypothetical versus actual viewers: e.g., Bundrick 2016a; Lynch 2017.
38. Morris 2003. Related discussions: e.g., van Dommelen 1997; Izzet 2007a, 211–23; Dietler 2010a; Hodos 2010, 2014; Demetriou 2012, 1–14; Vlassopoulos 2013, 226–77; Martin 2017.
39. E.g., Malkin 2011, especially chap. 1; Vlassopoulos 2013, especially chap. 3; both with further references. Challenges to hellenization: e.g., Izzet 2007a, 211–15; Dietler 2010a, 45–47; Vlassopoulos 2013, 7–11; Hodos 2014; Martin 2017, 35–41; all with further references.
40. Osborne 2001. Cf. Paleothodoros 2002; Lubchansky 2014a.
41. Iberian peninsula: e.g., Domínguez and Sánchez 2001. Thrace: e.g., Oakley 2009a. Gaul and other areas north of Etruria: e.g., Bonomi and Guggisberg 2014. Near East: e.g., DeVries 1977 (Achaemenid

empire); DeVries 1997 (Gordion); Tuna-Nörthing 1995 (Asia Minor); Stewart and Martin 2005 (Tel Dor); Chirpanlieva 2010, 2012 (Kition); Lynch and Matter 2014 (Gordion); Lynch 2016 (Gordion). Puglia (Apulia): e.g., Carpenter 2003; Mannino 2004; Peruzzi 2016a, 2016b. Boeotia: e.g., Sabetai 2012; Segal 2014. See Walsh 2013a for Attic vases in the western Mediterranean generally, with further references.

42. Reusser 2002.

43. Contra, e.g., Gill and Vickers 1995.

44. Cf. Paleothodoros 2004b.

45. E.g., Reusser 2002, 1:206 (“These 9”).

46. E.g., critiques offered in Whitley 1997; M. Turner 2000; J. Davies 2013, 13.

47. E.g., Oakley 1998; 1999; 2009b, 605–6; 2016; Pevnick 2011, 53–86; Arrington 2017.

48. E.g., Pevnick 2011, 2016 (reexamining Pistoxenos-Syriskos); Mackay 2016 (Exekias and associates); Kreuzer 2016 (Leagros Group); cf. also Sapirstein 2013, 2014; Schmidt 2016; Graepler 2016.

49. Kopytoff 1986, 66–67. Cf. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009; Stansbury-O’Donnell 2011, 163–67; Fogelin and Schiffer 2015.

50. E.g., Davis 1997; Langdon 2001; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002; Dooijes and Nieuwenhuyse 2007, 15–16; Joy 2009; Gorogianni 2011; Steel 2012, 190–224.

51. Stressed in, e.g., Davis 1997; Gorogianni 2011.

52. Importance of considering shape and image in tandem: e.g., Isler-Kerényi 2009b, 15; Lissarrague 2015. Ancient repairs: e.g., Elston 1990; Dooijes and Nieuwenhuyse 2007; Nadalini 2007.

53. E.g., essays in Hahn and Weis 2013; Joyce and Gillespie 2015.

54. As catalogued in Johnston 1979, 2006; see chapter 2. Trahey 2016 likewise asserts the underappreciated utility of trademarks.

55. E.g., Osborne 2004b for imagery.

56. Bazant 1982, 146.

57. E.g., Neer 2002, 9, 129; A. Steiner 2007, 231–36; Topper 2012b, 11–12. All three mention the high number of vases exported to Etruria but ultimately advocate for elite Athenians at symposia as the intended/ideal viewers and context.

58. Lewis 2003, 178. In this volume, I use the term “provenience” with reference to findspot/archaeological context. To avoid confusion, I use the term “collecting history” instead of “provenance”; the latter tends to refer to an object’s ownership history, so that “provenance” and “provenience” are not synonymous. Definitions and larger implications of these terms: e.g., Gill 2010; Pevnick 2010a; Joyce 2012.

59. Two of those caveats are that (a) images are ultimately constructions and were not intended as documentary portrayals, and so need decoding from that angle; and (b) many painters were not actually Athenian but were resident metics of non-Athenian Greek or non-Greek origin. For my own attempts to tease out Athenian perspectives from iconography, see, e.g., Bundrick 2005 (musical imagery), 2008 (textile production), and 2014a (sacrifice).

60. De la Genière 1987c, 1988b, 1999, 2009; Lewis 1997, 2002, 2003, 2009; Langridge-Noti 2013, 2014; Lynch 2009, 2017.

61. Foreigners in the Kerameikos: e.g., Pevnick 2010b; 2011, 9–52.

62. Florence PD66: *ARV*² 969.66; *BAPD* 213194; Fiesel 1934. For discussion (and varying opinions as to the inscription’s implications): Gill 1987 (82, fig. 1, for the sherd); D. Williams 2013, 47–48; Naso 2014, 160–62, fig. 3, all with further references. In addition to the two stronger possibilities highlighted here, a third is that the cup was signed by a Greek artist resident in Populonia (Gill 1987); however, the clay appears to be

Attic, which would mean the export of raw clay (which seems unlikely). A fourth is that “menece” does not mean “made” but something else (e.g., an alternate word for “dedicated”), and that Metron/Metru was based in Populonia but had Athenian connections (and maybe even was a trader). A pre-firing dedicatory inscription, however, would be unusual.

63. Cf. Walsh 2013a, 79–84.

64. Cf. Dietler 2010a, 55–74; 2010b.

65. Importance of consumer choice: e.g., Dietler 2010a, 57–74; Walsh 2013b; Walsh and Antonaccio 2014; essays in Carpenter, Langridge-Noti, and Stansbury-O’Donnell 2016; Russell 2016, 2017.

66. Cf. Joy 2009, 543, with biographical case studies in Davis 1997; Langdon 2001; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002; Gorogianni 2011.

67. Utility of assemblages: Paleothodoros 2009; cf. remarks in Joyce and Pollard 2010. Reusser 2002 presents the contents of many tombs in list form, including a few discussed here, but my analysis attempts to take the next step by considering the broader significance of those contents.

68. Blinkenberg 1999 argues that shape was the determining factor. Iconography as important but subsidiary to shape: e.g., Lissarrague 1987; Reusser 2002.

69. Paleothodoros (2009) makes similar observations about the Etruscan and Greek assemblages he discusses.

70. Reusser 2002, 1:146–90.

71. Isler-Kerényi 2003, 41; cf. Marconi 2004b, 40; Lynch 2017; Saunders 2017, 124; the last speaks of a “pictorial middle ground.”

72. E.g., de la Genière 1987c, 1988b, 2009, 2013; Isler-Kerényi 1997, 2002, 2003; Lewis 1997, 2003, 2009; Gorrini 2003; Schweizer 2003; Avramidou 2006; Brunori 2006; Rystedt 2006; Traficante 2006; Pierre 2008; Iozzo 2009, 2012, 2014; Lynch 2009, 2017; Paleothodoros 2009; Brizzolara and Baldoni 2010b; Baldoni 2011, 2012; Pizzirani 2010; Hedreen 2012; Massa-Pairault 2012; Puritani 2012; Bundrick 2014b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Trahey 2016; Shipley 2016b. Shipley’s article appeared as this manuscript’s second draft neared completion; although I agree that Etruscan consumers acquired vases with myths that fit their worldview (249–50), I have methodological reservations. Her dataset counts individual characters without taking into account complete scenes, shape, attribution, etc.; she compares finds in Etruscan tombs at Vulci, Chiusi, and Tarquinia only to finds in the Athenian Agora and not the Kerameikos and Akropolis as well, which would provide better equivalents and which I suspect would yield different results; and most sample sizes are small, which could reflect preservation bias more than consumer trends. Consideration of characters is inconsistent and misleading; for example, she does not include Dionysos or Herakles in her tallies of figures on vases found in Etruria (233–34, table 1; pp. 237–38, table 3), which allows her to claim that Achilles is “the most popular male figure in the material from Etruria” (239, contra Reusser 2002). She does include them in tallies from the Agora (235–36, table 2) but suggests that “the most popular male figure” in Athens is Hermes (239), despite his coming in third in her table.

73. Phiale, Villa Giulia: *BAPD* 23670; Baglione 1988; 2000, 370–80, figs. 45–49; 2013a, 73–75, figs. 1–2; 2013b, 624–27, fig. 30.8; Tsingarida 2009c, 201, cat. 26. Kylix, Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite, formerly Villa Giulia 121110 (ex Getty): *BAPD* 13363; D. Williams 1991; Rizzo 2000a, 2000b; Tsingarida 2009c, 200–201, cat. 25; Shapiro 2015.

74. Rescue excavations in 1993–97 uncovered the Sant’Antonio sanctuary, complete with more votive objects and inscriptions that virtually confirmed suspicions that the Getty cup had come from there (see Rizzo 2000a, 2009, for other Attic ceramics from the sanctuary). The letterforms of the cup’s Etruscan inscription

likewise suggest a southern Etruscan locale (as noted in Heurgon 1989, 181; Martelli 1991, 616; Wallace 1996, 291).

75. Attribution to Onesimos proposed by Dyfri Williams and accepted in, e.g., Tsingarida 2009c, 2014a, 263–64, where Euphronios is advocated as potter. Attribution to the Brygos Painter and a later date of ca. 470 is advocated by Maria Paola Baglione.

76. Shapiro 2015, 229.

77. Shapiro 2015, 232–33.

78. Despite the description of the scene as a symposion on the ground (Baglione 2013b, 626; Shapiro 2015, 237 [mentioning only men]), the musical instruments hanging in the field and apparent lack of landscape elements speak against assuming an outdoor setting. Onesimos could have omitted the *klinai* for compositional reasons, while including them on the reverse to show the action effectively. Lewis (2003) argues that images of women at symposia increase in response to the Etruscan export market. In contrast, Topper (2012b, 23–52) interprets scenes of symposia allegedly on the ground (without discussion of the Pyrgi phiale specifically) as symposia from the primitive Athenian past.

79. Cf. Baglione 2013b, 625; Shapiro 2015, 238.

80. Oversized cups and phialai in Etruria: e.g., Tsingarida 2009c, 2011, and forthcoming, and see chapters 3 and 4 below. I thank Athéna Tsingarida for sharing her article in advance of publication.

81. Shapiro 2015, 233–34.

82. Wallace 1996. Heurgon (1989, 184) originally read it as “this (is) the Greek cup of Hercle [the Etruscan Herakles], X dedicated it.” Martelli 1991 corrects Heurgon’s reading somewhat, but Wallace refines it further.

83. Rotroff 2011 on lead in Athens versus bronze in Etruria.

84. Elston 1990, 53.

85. Wallace 1996, 294.

86. Baglione 2000, 373, fig. 47.

87. Rome, Musei Capitolini CA172: Dougherty 2003; Izzet 2004.

88. Malkin 1998, 160–75, for Odysseus’ Etruscan connections. Uthuze in Etruscan art: Camporeale 1992; de Grummond 2006, 196–97, 202; Bonaudo 2010.

89. See Iozzo 2012.

90. Berlin F2588: *ARV²* 1300.1; *BAPD* 216788; Helbig 1876b, 206; Iozzo 2012, 74, fig. 12; and see generally Stansbury-O’Donnell 2014.

91. Boardman 2006, 39.

92. Cf. Gill 2012 (with the same Boardman quotation on 32); Lobay 2016.

93. E.g., Blanck 1988; Reusser 1993, 2005; Rastrelli 1998; Brownlee 2003; Iozzo 2009; Paleothodoros 2009, 51–54; Marzi 2013; Bundrick 2016a; Colonna and Bernard 2017. I thank Jasper Gaunt for the latter reference.

CHAPTER 2. THE NATURE OF THE ATHENIAN VASE TRADE

1. Munich 8730/2307, from Vulci (ex Canino): *ARV²* 26.1, 1620; *BAPD* 200160; Bonaparte 1829b, 121–23, cat. 1386; drawing of the inscription: Immerwahr 1990, pl. 21, fig. 8. See Neils 2017 for recent discussion of Euthymides; I thank Jenifer Neils for sharing a copy of her article in advance of publication.

2. E.g., Tleson and Ergoteles, each of whom signs himself a son of Nearchos; see Villanueva Puig 2007, 35–37; Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017, 155–56. I thank Sarah Bolmarcich and Georgina Muskett for sharing a copy of their article in advance of publication. One of the lip cups with an *epoiesen* signature from Tleson, son of Nearchos, comes from Tomb XLIX of the Polledrara necropolis at Vulci, Boston 98.920 (ex Warren): *ABV* 179.1; *BAPD* 301354; Gsell 1891, 111–12, pl. IX.

3. Pollias as possible sculptor: e.g., Villanueva Puig 2007, 42; Hurwit 2015, 95–96; Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017; Neils 2017, 26.

4. E.g., Neer 2002, 51; Hurwit 2015, 96. Engelmann (1987) suggests that the inscription refers instead to the *komarchos* label/figure, and to Euphronios' lack of participation in a komos. Laurens (1999) takes a similar view, which is also accepted in Hedreen 2009, 220–21, and 2016a, 40. The debate is discussed in Neer 2002, 227n74; Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017, 165–66.

5. Louvre G110: *ARV*² 14.3; *BAPD* 200065; Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 60–66, cat. 2.

6. E.g., M. Denoyelle in Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 66; Neer 2002, 53; Villanueva Puig 2007, 41–42. Hedreen (2016a, 38–42) is more skeptical.

7. First hydria, Louvre G41: *ARV*² 33.8; *BAPD* 200182; Neer 2002, 134, cat. 15. Second hydria, ex Philadelphia market, Florence 1B15 and 1B16, Princeton Art Museum: *ARV*² 34.9, 1621 (Pioneer Group); *BAPD* 200183.

8. Munich 2421, from Vulci (ex Candelori): *ARV*² 23.7, 1620; *BAPD* 200126; Neer 2002, 133, cat. P5, p. 134, cat. 15; Neils 2017, 23–26.

9. Translation in Neer 2002, 134. Topper (2012b, 105–21, with earlier references) discusses the difficulty of identifying these women, although they are often assumed to be *hetairai*. Neils (2012, 161–63) makes similar points and follows an interpretation by Gloria Ferrari, also discussed by Topper, that these women are meant to be Spartan.

10. Amphora by Phintias, from Vulci, Louvre G42: *ARV*² 23.1, 1620; *BAPD* 200116; Neer 2002, 133, cat. P6. Volute krater by Euthymides, from Morgantina, Aidone 58.2382: *ARV*² 28.10, 1620; *BAPD* 200145; Neils 1995; Neer 2002, 133, cat. P7; Neils 2017, 33, figs. 3.6–7.

11. Brussels, Musées Royaux A717 (ex Campana): *ARV*² 20.1, 1619; *BAPD* 200102; Neer 2002, 87–91, 133, cat. P1.

12. Getty 82.AE.83: *BAPD* 30685; Frel 1983; Neer 2002, 133, cat. P4. Hedreen suggests that Euphronios and Smikros are the same person (Smikros being an alter ego): Hedreen 2016a, 22–58.

13. E.g., Frel 1983. In contrast, Hedreen (2016a, 43) says of this psykter that “the image need not be taken at face value.”

14. E.g., Shapiro suggesting that “their patrons could also share in the joke” (1995b, 212) and speculating on whether the painters nonetheless attended symposia “in order that they might be better able to render the symposium scenes that their patrons favored” (218).

15. E.g., Neer 2002, 87–132.

16. Neer 2002, 131.

17. Webster (1972, 42–43) suggests that these were meant for the artisans themselves, “a special vase painted for a colleague to give to a girlfriend or for use at a special party.”

18. E.g., Robertson 1992, 26.

19. Hedreen 2009; 2016a, especially 233–79. Also emphasizing humor: Keuls 1988; Robertson 1992, 26–27; Laurens 1999; A. Steiner 2007, 258–62.

20. Neils 1995 for the Morgantina krater's context.

21. Neer 2002, 129.
22. Keuls 1988, 308.
23. E.g., a red-figure cup of average diameter (estimated at just over 19 cm) with coral red glaze, attributed to Euphronios as painter and likely Kachrylion as potter, found in Well J2:4 of the Athenian Agora and thought to have been part of a household's sympotic equipment, Agora P32344: *BAPD* 25976; Camp 1996, 251, cat. 36 (attribution C. Pfaff); Cohen 2006, 62–63, cat. 10; Lynch 2011, 93–95, 228–29, cat. 87; Hedreen 2016a, 250, fig. 52. As Lynch observes, ancient repairs show the cup's value to the household.
24. D. Williams 1995, 2009b; Wagner 2000; Jim 2014, 133–38, with references.
25. *JG I* 824; Wagner 2000, 384; D. Williams 2009b, 310–11; Jim 2014, 135–36.
26. *JG I* 926–32; Jim 2014, 136. For Athena Ergane on the Akropolis—dedication of vases in special techniques as demonstrations of craftsmen's skill—see Verbanck-Piérard 2008.
27. E.g., Finley 1973. Historiography: e.g., Bissa 2009, 1–18; Bresson 2014, 43–48; Harris and Lewis 2016, 3–9.
28. Some recent work: E. Harris 2002; Osborne 2007a; Möller 2007; Bissa 2009; van Wees 2009; Archibald 2013 (about the pottery trade specifically); Bresson and de Callatay 2013 (ditto); Bresson 2014; Bresson 2016 (with references to earlier work by Bresson); Harris and Lewis 2016; Kron 2016; Lawall 2016.
29. Hesiod: Van Wees 2009, 445–50. Harris and Lewis (2016) gather textual references to the influence of supply and demand on prices in Athens (and the recognition of these forces).
30. Bresson 2014 for ancient “capitalism.” Coexistence of multiple forms of exchange: e.g., Möller 2007, 370; Harris and Lewis 2016, 10; Lawall 2016, 255.
31. Cautions against relying only on Beazley's catalogues: e.g., Hannestad 1991; Stissi 2009, 23. The disparity in scholarship regarding vases found in Greece is noted in Paleothodoros 2007a, 168; Sabetai 2012, 121; 2014.
32. Reusser 2002. Gravisca: Huber 1999; Iacobazzi 2004; Fortunelli 2006; Fiorini and Fortunelli 2009. Pyrgi: Baglione 2000, 2004, 2013a, 2013b. See also work at Veii (Baglione 2011), the Campo della Fiera at Orvieto (Bizzarri 2012), urban sanctuaries of Marzabotto and Bologna (Baldoni 2015), and Poggio Colla (Neils and Steiner 2018). I thank Vincenzo Baldoni for sharing his article with me.
33. E.g., Stissi 1999a, 2016.
34. E.g., the Etrusco-Greek necropoleis of Spina, discovered in the 1920s (Valle Trebba) and the 1950s and early 1960s (Valle Pega). Only some of the over four thousand tombs have been fully published.
35. E.g., Buranelli 1994; Macellari 2002; Brownlee 2003; Riccioni 2003; Ridi 2003; Paolucci 2005; Iozzo 2006, 2007, 2012; Nati 2008; Baldoni 2009; Marzi 2013.
36. See Sapirstein 2013, including the online appendix (www.ajaonline.org/sites/default/files/1174_Sapirstein_suppl.pdf), for a history of attempts to use surviving Panathenaic amphorae to calculate the recovery ratio. A 1.0 percent figure is supported in Cook 1959 and Webster 1972, 4 (the latter cautions that “this may be very wrong”); 0.2 percent is suggested in Oakley 1992a. Stissi (2002, 23–34) observes that with so many unpublished or otherwise uncounted vases, it is difficult to calculate how much figured pottery actually survives.
37. Sapirstein 2013.
38. Sapirstein 2013, 508; Stissi 2002, 33. Stissi 2016 reasserts a higher number of originally produced vases, compared with Sapirstein's estimates.
39. Stissi 2012, 216 (cf. Stissi 2002, 24–34); Stissi 2016; contra Sapirstein (2013, 507–8), who adds that “the whole population of potters, painters, and assistants . . . was below 100 for much of the sixth century

B.C.E. and is unlikely to have risen much above 200 at its maximum.” Part of the question goes back to distinguishing different stylistic hands and deciding how many different people these represent; see chapter 1 for such problems.

40. Early Attic black figure and the export trade: e.g., Osborne 1996; Curry 2000; Iozzo 2006; Alexandridou 2011, 2012, 2015; Reusser 2013, 34–46; all with further references.

41. E.g., Reusser 2013, 45.

42. See Alexandridou 2011 for extensive distribution tables and bibliography, and 2012 and 2015 for further discussion of early and likely directional trade. Osborne 1996 had similarly advocated for directional trade in this period, and material since published supports his claims.

43. Corinthian immigrants in the Athenian Kerameikos likely contributed to this situation: e.g., Curry 2000, 81; Alexandridou 2011, 46–47.

44. Corinthian column kraters in Caere: de la Genière 1988a; Cristofani and Martelli 1991; Spivey 2007, 233–36.

45. Pipili 2006, 2014. Pipili 2014, 140, fig. 1, records 99 Lakonian vessels found in Etruria versus 169 at Samos; however, most received at Samos date from ca. 575–550 (122 Samos vs. 57 Etruria: p. 143, fig. 2), whereas the balance is closer ca. 550–525 (47 Samos, 42 Etruria: p. 144, fig. 3). Caere played a key role in the import of Lakonian ware, as it did Attic (Pipili 2014, 148, fig. 5), and vessels were also imported into Vulci, Tarquinia, and Gravisca, with isolated finds at other sites (e.g., Murlo, Pisa, Marzabotto; the last is a fragmentary krater discussed in Baldoni 2015, 117–19).

46. Cf. Alexandridou 2011, 198, table 10.3.

47. For important early observations of distribution patterns, cf. Bailey 1940; Boardman 1979; Osborne 1996.

48. Kyathoi: e.g., Eisman 1971, 1975; Rasmussen 1985, 35–37; Tosto 1999, 95–109, 225–26, cat. 128–33; Giuman and Pilo 2012; Tonglet 2013. Nikosthenic amphorae: e.g., Eisman 1974; Rasmussen 1985, 34–35; Gilotta 1997; Tosto 1999, 17–93, 208–25, cat. 1–127; von Mehren 2001, 50–52. Cf. also the mastoid goblet, whose Etruscan bucchero antecedents and targeted production are explored in Malagardis 1997. Nikosthenic amphora illustrated: Hannover 1961.23: *ABV* 122.7, 1627; *BAPD* 201948.

49. Carinated kantharos: e.g., Courbin 1953; Rasmussen 1985, 33–34. See Lyons 2009 for so-called Nikosthenic pyxides.

50. Stamnoi: e.g., Isler-Kerényi 1976; 2009a, 75; de la Genière 1987c; Rendeli 1993; Schmidt 2014, 199; Persano 2015.

51. Hydriai in Etruria: e.g., Brunori 2006; Schmidt 2014, 198; and chapter 5 below.

52. Schmidt 2014, 198; and see Bentz 2009.

53. Chapter 1, n. 80, above; and see chapter 4 below.

54. E.g., Spivey 1991, 141–42; Osborne 1996, 39; 2001, 278; Curry 2000, 81–84; von Mehren 2001; Reusser 2013, 41, 44; Kim 2018; and see Kluiver 2003 for comprehensive discussion with catalogue. Illustrated: Boston 98.916 (ex Warren), from Tomb XLIX of the Polledrara necropolis at Vulci, *ABV* 98.46, 684; *BAPD* 310045; Gsell 1891, 117–20, pls. V–VI; Kluiver 2003, 151, cat. 47; and see chapter 6 below.

55. Add to Kluiver’s catalogue fragmentary Tyrrhenian amphorae from the sanctuary at Gravisca, near Tarquinia: Iacobazzi 2004, 39–43, cat. 35–41. Exceptions to Etruria include one amphora each from Megara Hyblaea, Tharros (Sardegna), Nola, and Naukratis.

56. Villard 2006.

57. Contra not only totals in Kluiver 2003 but totals and observations given in Curry 2000, 84; Reusser 2013, 41. Karlsruhe B2423 is given a Tarquinian provenience in Kluiver 2003, 161, cat. 152, but is actually from Caere (see chapter 3 below).

58. Reusser (2013, 45) discusses Caere's preeminence in the distribution of early Attic figured pottery in Etruria but proposes a shift to Vulci at the time of the Tyrrhenian Group. My adjusted totals for Caere suggest that while Vulci did grow in significance as an entry point, Caere still held the dominant position at this time.

59. Cf. Osborne 1996, 35–36, including table 7; Alexandridou 2012, 8, table 3, for Attic figured amphorae in Etruria in the late seventh–early sixth centuries compared with other sites (so-called horsehead amphorae as well as other amphorae); and Alexandridou 2011, 198, table 10.3, for shape distribution at particular Italian sites (plus summary at pp. 99–101); Reusser 2013. Dating the Group: Kluiver 2003, 108–15.

60. Connection between Sophilos and the Tyrrhenian Group: e.g., Kluiver 2003, 105–7.

61. E.g., D. Williams 2009a, 7; Curry 2000, 84–85; and see Tosto 1999 for comprehensive study (although Tosto, in contrast, downplays the idea of Nikosthenes as an innovator). Tiverios 1976 suggests that the Nikosthenic workshop emerged from the Tyrrhenian Group; cf. Curry 2000, 84–85.

62. Tosto (1999, 17) suggests that Nikosthenes himself threw nearly all the Nikosthenic amphorae because of their “underlying technical and stylistic unity”; he speculates either that Nikosthenes had traveled to Etruria and seen bucchero examples there or that bucchero amphorae were brought to the workshop (204). Osborne 2004c suggests that Nikosthenes’ strategies “did not reward him sufficiently to encourage others to imitate him” (79) and were “not an effective enough market ploy for others to want to follow” (92); cf. also Osborne 2018, 46. However, his case study of the Penthesilean workshop is apples-and-oranges in relation to the Nikosthenic *kerameion*, given the decades between them. For example, Osborne does not address the apparent shift in trade routes that decreased exports to southern Etruria and expanded exports to other Italian markets.

63. “Chalcidian” ware: e.g., Iozzo 1994. Nikosthenes’ likely creation of the Attic “Chalcidizing” cup: e.g., Tosto 1999, 144–47. See further below, chapter 4.

64. Tosto 1999, 173–87; Viviers 2006, 144–45; Villanueva Puig 2007, 38–39; Hurwit 2015, 86–87, 150–51; Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017, 161; Tafe 2018. Illustrated, eye cup signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*, Louvre F122, from Vulci (ex Canino): *ABV* 231.6, 690; *BAPD* 301671; Bonaparte 1829b, 77, cat. 567; Tosto 1999, 232, cat. 168.

65. Hurwit 2015, 86.

66. Bolmarcich and Muskett (2017) stress the popularity of signatures on vases sent to Etruria.

67. Tsingarida 2008; D. Williams 2009a, 7–9. Brijder 2008 argues that the Nikosthenic workshop originated the Attic version of the Six’s technique and that it was inspired by Etruscan bucchero.

68. Lyons 2009.

69. Tuna-Nörling 1997 for Ionia; and see Kluiver 2003, 118, 144–45, table 11a.

70. Examples in Athenian graves: e.g., Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 216–20. See also chapter 3 below.

71. E.g., Osborne 2001, 290. Cf. Osborne 2004b, 52; 2018, 45–47; and to an extent Shipley 2016b, 226.

72. Cf. Moon 1983b on these scenes.

73. Lewis 2009. Osborne (2018, 53–86) notes some of the same iconographic transformations in athletic imagery over time as Lewis; however, he attributes the changes solely to Athenian attitudes and interests. It is illustrative of the book’s marginalization of Etruscan exports that Lewis’s article is neither cited nor discussed.

74. Legakis 1983; Thuillier 1985, 189–90; Neils and Steiner 2018. See Tosto 1999 and *BAPD* for the vases: e.g., Vatican 364 (17735–36), from Caere (signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*): *ABV* 219.20; *BAPD* 302769; Tosto

1999, 213, cat. 29. Neils and Steiner 2018 further discuss the export to Etruria of multiple red-figure cups attributed to the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy and featuring boxing scenes.

75. Perizoma Group: e.g., Spivey 1991, 146–47; Lesky 2000, 2007; Shapiro 2000; Osborne 2001, 278; Lewis 2009, 136; Lynch 2009, 160–61; Lubtchansky 2014a, 367–68. Illustrated, Los Angeles 50.8.2 (A5933.50.8): *ABV* 343.1; *BAPD* 301903; Bundrick 2015, 332, figs. 19–20.

76. Shapiro 2000.

77. For discussion and catalogues: Durand and Lissarrague 1979; Lissarrague 1990b, 55–59; van Straten 1995, 238–43.

78. Tarquinia: unattributed black-figure neck amphora, Tarquinia 640, *BAPD* 5728; van Straten 1995, 241, cat. V256. Caere: unattributed black-figure neck amphora, Bonn 464.39, *BAPD* 6665; van Straten 1995, 238, cat. V242. Vulci: unattributed black-figure neck amphora, London B171, *BAPD* 5725; van Straten 1995, 240, cat. V251; and red-figure amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, Würzburg 507, *ARV*² 181.1, *BAPD* 201654; van Straten 1995, 242–43, cat. V262.

79. Cf. Osborne 2001, 283; Gebauer 2002, 351; Bundrick 2014a, 660. Contra Lissarrague 2018.

80. See Woodford and Loudon 1980 for catalogue, further examples in *BAPD*, and chapter 6 below. Many unprovenienced vases with this subject likely came from Etruria. Shipley 2016b, 233, table 1, incorrectly counts three vases from Vulci depicting Aineias and none from Tarquinia.

81. Cf. Johnston 1991b, 216, illustrating a sub-Nikosthenic amphora said to be from Caere (Basel BS1921.331, *ABV* 319.9, *BAPD* 301670) but urging caution given preservation bias; Pontrandolfo 2007, 9.

82. Tosto 1999, 195, contra, e.g., Eisman 2008. For workshops generally, see D. Williams 1995, 2013, 2016; Monaco 2000, 2012; Stissi 2012; Langridge-Noti 2014, 166–74.

83. Hasaki 2011, 27.

84. Women and children: e.g., D. Williams 2016. A woman painting a vase appears in a workshop scene on an Attic volute krater from Ruvo (Vicenza, Collezione Banca Intesa: *ARV*² 571.73, 1659; *BAPD* 206564), although one must be cautious in using workshop scenes to reconstruct actual workshop activities.

85. Fluidity in workshop organization: cf. Mackay 2016; Kreuzer 2016. Mackay uses Exekias and Group E to suggest productivity strategies: two painters painting different sides of a vase, or a second painter completing details of another painter's scene. Stissi 2016 similarly posits that “minor” artisans contributed significantly to a workshop's output.

86. Sapirstein 2013.

87. Monaco 2000, 70–103; 2012, 165–70 (167, fig. 8 for map); cf. Langridge-Noti 2014, 174.

88. For points of sale, cf. D. Williams 2013; Langridge-Noti 2014. Ceramic debris in the Stoa Gutter Well of the Agora (Roberts 1986) has been interpreted as the detritus of a pottery shop in, e.g., Lynch 2011, 139; Langridge-Noti 2014, 175–76. For the *emporion* of Peiraieus, see Demetriou 2012, 188–229.

89. Cf. ethnographic studies in Varman and Costa 2008, 2009.

90. Monaco 2000, 211–13, cat. DII for summary; for publications of individual vases: Maffre 1972, 1982, 1984, 1999. Cf. also Monaco 2012, 167–68.

91. Sparkes 1985, 26.

92. Specialist painters, linked by Sapirstein to the rise of red figure: Sapirstein 2013, 506. It is possible that these “hands” are not separate individuals; cf. Sapirstein 2013, 503–4, on the likely need for revision to Beazley's designations.

93. In discussing a kylix by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy found in a sanctuary of Uni at Poggio Colla (inv. 98-050, Neils and Steiner 2018), Jenifer Neils and Ann Steiner note the high number of cups with

athletic scenes attributed to this painter with an Etruscan provenience (seventeen), including eight with boxers like the Poggio Colla example.

94. Including fragments by the Brygos (27), Dokimasia (1), and Castelgiorgio (5) Painters. Kathleen Lynch observes that vases by the Brygos Painter and other high-quality (to modern eyes) painters are not represented in the Persian destruction deposits of the Agora; she hypothesizes that Athenian consumers at this period may have been “associating innovation and quality design with higher value and were making a distinction (possibly economic?) between what was appropriate for use in the home and what was appropriate for the gods” (Lynch 2011, 175). Cf. Hannestad 1988 on distribution among the Agora, Akropolis, and Kerameikos cemetery.

95. Herakles and Linos: e.g., cup fragment by the Brygos Painter, Athens, Ephorate A5300, *BAPD* 5467; Maffre 1982, 208, fig. 8. Herakles and Busiris: e.g., cup fragment by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, Athens, Ephorate A5316, *BAPD* 6348; Maffre 1982, 213–14, figs. 12–13.

96. Most famously, a cup by Douris from Vulci with Herakles killing Linos: Munich 2646, *ARV*² 437.128, 1653; *BAPD* 205174; as well as a skyphos attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter with Linos and Iphikles (obverse) and Herakles and his nurse Geropso (reverse), from Caere: Schwerin 708, *ARV*² 859, 862.30, 1672; *BAPD* 211358.

97. Maffre 1982, 195–203. Athens, Ephorate A5306: *BAPD* 6695 (Castelgiorgio Painter); Maffre 1982, 199, fig. 2. Athens, Ephorate A5325: *BAPD* 6697 (Briseis Painter); Maffre 1982, 196, fig. 1.

98. Kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter, Boston 95.36: *ARV*² 381.182; *BAPD* 204081; most recently Segal 2014. Kyathos fragments attributed to the Brygos Painter, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.545: *ARV*² 383.196; *BAPD* 204095. Fragmentary lekythos attributed to the Briseis Painter, Gela 8731: *ARV*² 410.61; *BAPD* 204459. The other vase attributed to the Briseis Painter with Zeus and Ganymede, a Nolan amphora, Cambridge GR23.1937, lacks a known provenience: *ARV*² 409.51; *BAPD* 204449.

99. Segal 2014.

100. Cf. Neils and Steiner 2018 on the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy specifically. Some of the athletic scenes noted above (n. 93) are replicas or near-replicas, suggesting serial production.

101. Oakley 1992a; Monaco 2000, 59–62, 195–201, cat. B1a/b/c. The Akademisches Kunstmuseum of Bonn University acquired 466 fragments in 1904; others entered the collections of the Allard Pierson Museum and university museum at Utrecht.

102. Oakley 1992a, 198.

103. Cf. Oakley 1992a, 199–200.

104. It is possible that the deposit represents two neighboring workshops that shared the same kiln; I thank one of the manuscript reviewers for this suggestion.

105. Oakley 1992a.

106. Fragments with *splanchnoptai*: Bonn 1216.43 (*ARV*² 1181.32, 1685; *BAPD* 215658), 1216.44 (*ARV*² 1181.33, 1685; *BAPD* 215659), and 1216.45 (*ARV*² 1181.34; *BAPD* 215660); Oakley 1992a, 202, fig. 2; Bundrick 2014a, 695–96, cat. 12–14.

107. Bonn 1216.145: *ARV*² 1181.35; *BAPD* 215661; Bundrick 2014a, 696, cat. 15.

108. In Bundrick 2014a, I argue that within the Athenian *polis* these scenes had democratic overtones for the vase painters themselves and for local consumers.

109. Bundrick 2014a, including appendix 3.

110. Illustrated, bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter, from Italy, Louvre G496: *ARV*² 1190.24, 1686; *BAPD* 215758; Bundrick 2014a, 699, cat. 28.

111. San Antonio 85.120.2: *BAPD* 1064; Bundrick 2014a, 670, fig. 5, p. 700, cat. 34.

112. Recent discussion of traders: e.g., de la Genière 2003; Möller 2007, 368–70; Lewis 2009, 146–47; Dietler 2010a, 131–43; Demetriou 2012 (with reference to *emporía*); D. Williams 2013; Archibald 2013; Langridge-Noti 2014. See also Reed 2003, which takes an approach that now seems outdated (see below).

113. Dion. Hal. 3.46, from Morley 2007, 31, likewise quoted in Dietler 2010a, 132.

114. Demaratos is later described as settling permanently in Tarquinia and marrying an Etruscan noblewoman, his descendants becoming kings of Rome, while Pliny says he brought three Corinthian craftsmen in terracotta with him to Etruria. Whether any of the legends are true or served as explanations of certain events and artistic tendencies for a Roman audience desiring a Greek connection remains unclear. See, e.g., Ridgway and Serra Ridgway 1994.

115. E.g., Hasebroek 1928; this orthodoxy is also followed in Reed 2003 and to some extent in Dietler 2010a.

116. See the references in n. 28 above, to which add Bresson 2000.

117. Johnston (1974, 142–43) summarizes why these are likely to be associated with traders rather than potters or the owners of vases. For these marks, see Hackl 1909; general summaries in Johnston 1974, 1979, 1991b; catalogues in Johnston 1979, 2006.

118. Johnston 1979, 51; cf. Langridge-Noti 2014, 180.

119. Johnston 1979, 22–26.

120. Johnston 1985; Cristofani 1993, 1996; Izzet 2007a, 218; D. Williams 2013, 47–48.

121. Type 25A as possibly Etruscan: Johnston 1985, 250. Type 15C as possibly Etruscan: Johnston 1985, 251; 2006, 16, 97. Type 8E as possibly Etruscan: de la Genière 1999, 419; Maggiani 2013.

122. Location unknown, ex Sotheby's London (2 July 1996): *BAPD* 29366; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E57b. Graffito as possibly Etruscan: Johnston 2006, 16; D. Williams 2013, 47.

123. Johnston 1979, 4; Stissi 2002, 312; D. Williams 2013, 43.

124. See chapter 1, n. 24, above, for this vase, plus Johnston 1979, 26, 212; 2006, 119, cat. 9E10 (dipinto), and 122, cat. 9E85 (graffito). See also chapter 7 for trader 9E.

125. Stissi 2002, 316, part of the larger discussion at 313–17.

126. The trader (*emporos*) and shipowner (*naukleros*) were in most cases probably not the same person, for which see Dietler 2010a, 138–42; also Reed 2003.

127. Stissi 2002, 316.

128. Cf. Archibald 2013, 133.

129. Cf. Tosto 1999, 201–3; D. Williams 2013, 47.

130. Johnston 2006, 112–13, cat. 3E1–16a.

131. Vienna IV3604, from Caere: *ABV* 221.41; *BAPD* 302790; Tosto 1999, 220, cat. 72; Johnston 2006, 112, cat. 3E1. Vatican 362 (16519), from Caere: *ABV* 218.12; *BAPD* 302761; Tosto 1999, 209, cat. 6; Johnston 2006, 112, cat. 3E2. Kassel ALG13, provenience unknown: *ABV* 122.6, 1627; *BAPD* 201947; Johnston 2006, 112, cat. 3E13.

132. Johnston 1972; Cristofani 1996; Shapiro 2000, 337; Boardman 2001, 146 (with more reservations); Demetriou 2012, 64–65; Vlassopoulos 2013, 85–86; D. Williams 2013, 47. A stone anchor from Gravisca inscribed in Aeginetan script and dedicated to Apollo by a certain Sostratos forms a large part of the case: e.g., Demetriou 2012, 65, fig. 4. More skeptical: Gill 1994, 99–101; Stissi 2002, 311.

133. Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A39–47.
134. Johnston 2006, 56, cat. 21A30–36, all amphorae of different shapes.
135. Johnston 2006, 56, cat. 21A12–20. Johnston 1979, 190, notes that a large number of ΣO's pre-firing dipinti appear on vases from the Perizoma Group and Antimenean workshops.
136. Shapiro 2000, 337, mentions the trademarks but not that they were evidently applied pre-firing.
137. For batch notations, see Johnston 1978; cf. Maggiani 2014, which discusses two hydriai from Vulci with similar batch notations, one in a private collection and the other in the British Museum (B320). He argues that the two may have been shipped together.
138. Cleveland 24.533: *ARV*² 1097.10; *BAPD* 216072; Johnston 2006, 154, cat. 13F4, with interpretation of the inscription at Johnston 1979, 228 (cf. Johnston 2006, 154). See chapter 6 below for the Naples Painter.
139. Johnston 1979, 228. New York 06.1021.149: *ARV*² 523.2; *BAPD* 205878; Johnston 2006, 154, cat. 13F3.
140. Cf. distribution of column kraters by the Naples Painter (Bundrick 2016a, 11, table 1) and Eucharides Painter (Langridge-Noti 2013; 2014, 179).
141. The theme also appears on a pelike and loutrophoros fragment attributed to this painter (the latter found on the Athenian Akropolis: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection, *ARV*² 526.62; *BAPD* 205946).
142. Also suggested by Langridge-Noti 2013, 2014, with regard to the Eucharides Painter.
143. Johnston 2006, 22–23, with an additional eight “uncertain” prices; cf. also Johnston 1991a.
144. The purchaser in Etruria, whether merchant or another customer, may have paid in barter, given the relative scarcity of Etruscan coinage at this time.
145. Hagglings: Johnstone 2011, 12–34. Modern ethnographic comparanda: e.g., Alexander and Alexander 1987, 1991; Fanselow 1990; Varman and Costa 2008, 2009.
146. Paulas 2010; cf. E. Harris 2002, 76, for other goods that had fluctuating prices in the Athenian market (e.g., dried fish and hides, as mentioned in Theophrastus, *Characters* 4.12). Prices for some goods, like grain, were regulated by the state, but there is no evidence for price control in the ceramic industry.
147. Xenophon, *Poroi* 4.5, trans. E. Harris 2002, 76; cf. Harris and Lewis 2016, 2–3.
148. Vatican 413 (Plousios Painter): *BAPD* 31764; Shapiro 1997, 64, figs. 2–3; Chatzidimitriou 2008, 237, fig. 1a–b.
149. Varman and Costa 2008, 2009; cf. Lawall 2016, 258.
150. (1) Bell krater attributed to the Kadmos Painter, from Italy, Louvre G503: *ARV*² 1185.18; *BAPD* 215706; Johnston 2006, cat. 12B10, 18C42, 14F2, and 26F3. (2) Bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter, from Italy, Louvre G496: n. 110 above; Johnston 2006, cat. 18C74, 14F3. (3) Bell krater attributed to the Kadmos Painter, likely from Italy, Vienna 869: *ARV*² 1185.10; *BAPD* 215698; Johnston 2006, cat. 18C43, 14F1, 26F2. (4) Bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter, likely from Italy, London E504: *ARV*² 1190.25, 1686; *BAPD* 215759; Johnston 2006, cat. 18C45, 14F4; Bundrick 2014a, 697–98, cat. 21. Drawings of the four inscriptions: Amyx and Pritchett 1958, pl. 52a–d. Each contains a line for *krateres*, gives a quantity of six, and the numeral four, which suggests six kraters for four drachmai, or four obols apiece. The batch notations mention other shapes and prices, but I focus here on the kraters, since the actual vases can be considered.
151. Neck amphora from Suessula, Boston 03.821: *ARV*² 1186.29; *BAPD* 215718; Johnston 2006, 157, cat. 18F1 (and p. 79, cat. 12B11). Column krater from Gela, Bowdoin College 1913.8: *BAPD* 30555; Johnston 2006, 162, cat. 24F2. Inscription transcribed in Johnston 1979, fig. 13m. Amphorae were popular for graves at Suessula (cf. Martelli 2006) and column kraters for graves at Gela (cf. de la Genière 1987a; De Cesare

2007), in each case assuring the trader of low risk and good profit, even with higher prices asked in Athens. Column kraters may have been cheaper earlier in the fifth century, when they were produced by more workshops. A column krater attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228 may carry a batch notation designating these vases as three obols apiece: Munich 2379, *ARV²* 512.10; *BAPD* 205747; Johnston 2006, 22, 74, cat. 7B6; cf. Johnston 1979, 195.

152. A contemporary bell krater from a different workshop, attributed to the Dinos Painter, cost a comparable four and a half obols: Philadelphia 5682, *ARV²* 1154.37; *BAPD* 215290; Amyx and Pritchett 1958, pl. 52e; Johnston 2006, 155, cat. 14F5.

153. Aristophanes, *Peace* 1202; see Harris and Lewis 2016, 1–2.

154. Johnston 1979, 227, accepted in, e.g., Saunders 2017, 110. Jongkees (1942, 153) instead reads the inscription from the buyer's point of view ("I buy").

155. Louvre CA2981: *ARV²* 196.2, 1633; *BAPD* 201810; Cardon 1977, 135, cat. 192, pp. 143–44; Johnston 2006, 152, cat. 10F21, p. 165, cat. 26F6; Padgett 2017, 376, cat. B2.

156. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011, 125–28) calculates seven obols to have been equivalent to about \$225, using American median household incomes to propose an approximate modern value.

157. The potter of Louvre CA2981 is thought to be a different person from the potter of the Berlin Painter's other three known Type A amphorae, based on the foot: Gaunt 2017, 94–97, with earlier references.

158. Padgett 2017, 221, for the lineage of the Berlin Painter's Type A amphorae; for his vases sent to Vulci, Saunders 2017, 113–15. See n. 8 above for a hydria by Phintias (Munich 2421), and chapter 1, n. 8, for Exekias' Type A amphora with Achilles and Ajax. As of 29 May 2017, *BAPD* lists sixty-one Type A amphorae with a Vulcian provenience (black-figure, red-figure, and bilingual).

159. Hydria, Louvre G178: *ARV²* 218.3; *BAPD* 202204; Bonaparte 1829b, 112, cat. 1197; Barringer 1995, 195, cat. 135; Johnston 2006, 165, cat. 26F7. Now lost amphora: Bonaparte 1829b, 112, cat. 1198; Johnston 2006, 165, cat. 26F8.

160. Johnston 2006, 133, cat. 17E16–17.

161. Padgett 2017, 247n1 (S. Pevnick), notes that Athena appears fifty-six times on the Berlin Painter vases listed in *BAPD*. For the significance of Athena to Etruscan consumers, see chapter 4 below.

162. Neck amphora with twisted handles, London E268: *ARV²* 198.24; *BAPD* 201832; Padgett 2017, 246–47, cat. 17 (S. Pevnick). Panathenaic-shaped amphora, Vatican 17907: *ARV²* 197.5; *BAPD* 201813. Both have Hermes on the obverses. Young draped men likewise appear on several Berlin Painter vases, including, e.g., a Panathenaic-shaped amphora from Vulci with diskobolos on the obverse (Munich 2313: *ARV²* 198.12, 1609.1; *BAPD* 201819) and neck amphora with twisted handles, also from Vulci with Apollo or a kitharode on the opposite side (Munich 2319: *ARV²* 198.22, 1633; *BAPD* 201830; Padgett 2017, 244–45 [S. Pevnick]).

163. See Johnston 1979, 46, for these "possibly personal" letters and the Berlin Painter.

164. Johnston 1979, 227, and see fig. 9w for a drawing of all inscriptions.

165. Beazley in *ARV²* 218.3; Cardon 1977, 190.

166. Twenty-two vessels with Peleus and Thetis wrestling and a Vulcian provenience listed in *BAPD* as of this writing, plus a black-figure hydria from the Tomb of the Necklace (not included in *BAPD*), discussed in chapter 5 below. Shipley 2016b, 234, table 1, lists only five Vulcian imports showing Peleus and eight with Thetis.

167. Camarina vase, Syracuse 23912: *ARV²* 1041.11; *BAPD* 213534; Johnston 2006, 100, cat. 18C63. Campana vase, Hermitage 757 (St. 1206): *ARV²* 1060.141; *BAPD* 213773; Johnston 2006, 148, cat. 8F9,

p. 160, cat. 21F8. The latter's abbreviated inscription likely reads "hydria three drachmai painted," whereas the Camarina hydria has a simple alpha and three drachma marks.

168. London 1921.7–10.2 (ex Segredakis): *ARV*² 1060.138; *BAPD* 213771; Johnston 2006, 70, cat. 2B29, p. 98, cat. 18C17b, p. 148, cat. 8F8, and p. 160, cat. 21F7. For the inscription, cf. Beazley in *JHS* 1931, 123; D. Williams 1996, 228.

169. Boardman (1988b, 30) uses these hydriai to argue that "size and number of figures" determined cost, but his information is faulty. He claims that the two-drachma London hydria has fewer figures than the three-drachma Hermitage hydria, but it does not. The Hermitage hydria has six figures, plus a man in a chariot (rape of the daughters of Leukippos), and the London vase has a domestic scene of female musicians and Eros, eight figures in all. The two-drachma hydria is indeed smaller, but it is unclear whether 7 centimeters would have warranted an entire drachma's difference in price.

170. Boardman 2001, 157.

171. Recent discussion of value and desirability: S. Harris 2017, with further references.

172. As outlined in Vanderpool 1967.

173. Boardman introduces the kylix-for-one-drachma price in Boardman 1988a, but without explanation or justification (also critiqued in Gill 1991, 33–34; Stissi 2002, 194). Presumably he did so on the basis of the Kephisophon kylix inscription, given Boardman 2001, 157: "An owner writes on his cup that if anyone breaks it, it will cost him a drachma." This latter quote is given with a citation to Vanderpool 1967 but without including the rest of the inscription describing the gift or explaining that the lost piece was a black-gloss cup-skyphos.

174. D. Amyx in Amyx and Pritchett 1958, 299.

175. Gill and Vickers 1990, 4; cf. Gill 1988a, 178.

176. Gill 1991, 30.

177. Gill 1991, 42–43; cf. Gill 1988a, 178. The trade in Chinese porcelain has undergone recent reevaluation; see chapter 7 below.

178. Gill 1991, 37.

179. Boardman 1988b, 28.

180. Boardman 1988b, 32. Cf. Johnston 1991c; Salmon 2000, 245.

181. Gill 1991, 41n104, with references to reports known at that time.

182. Stissi 2002, 300–301, and table XX.1.

183. For which see Massar and Verbanck-Piérard 2013.

184. Krotscheck 2008, 75–88; Daniel 2009, 40–60 (including the Giglio ship).

185. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992 (preliminary report); Stissi 2002, 300–303; Jubier 2003; Krotscheck 2008, 2015. The mostly Greek cargo of the *Pointe Lequin* 1A ship does not guarantee a Greek crew, merchant/trader, or shipowner: cf. Dietler 2010a, 141.

186. Geographic breakdown of transport amphorae: see Krotscheck 2008, 68; the *Pointe Lequin* 1A cargo compared with other wrecks at 75–88.

187. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 208–16; Krotscheck 2008, 69–70; 2015.

188. Stressed in Krotscheck 2008, 2015; also noted in Langridge-Noti 2013, 64; D. Williams 2013, 52n80. Krotscheck's analysis focuses on the so-called Ionian B2 cups, but many of her conclusions can be extended to the Athenian cups.

189. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 219, 223, fig. 39; Jubier 2003, 118, fig. 1; Krotscheck 2015, 173.

190. Cf. Krotscheck 2008, 90; 2015, 182.

191. See Dietler 2010a, 135, 206–22; Walsh 2013a, 125–29, 158–61, with discussion of feasting at 175–77.

192. Cf. table XX.2 in Stissi 2002, 302. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 217, mentions “cratères à colonnettes” but gives no details as to whether they were figured or black-gloss, etc. On the relative absence of kraters in much of Gaul, cf. Osborne 2007c, 87; Walsh 2013a, 161–63.

193. E.g., Cassel cups and cup fragments found at Daskyleion, a site that has yielded larger quantities of this shape than others. The unusually high proportion of Cassel cups on the wreck is noted in Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 210.

194. Alexandridou (2012, 10) notes that Attic cups in the early sixth century were primarily exported to Corinth and overseas; she questions “the actual role and importance of the symposion in Attika at the time” while acknowledging a lack of excavated domestic Athenian contexts (11). Lynch 2014 primarily attributes the development of new cup shapes to changes in Athenian social ideology and the symposion, as well as the creativity and initiative of potters.

195. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 214, citing F. Villard (pers. comm.); Krotscheck 2008, 70.

196. See Jordan 1988, 196–210, for the series of Courting Cups with eyes.

197. Only twelve of the Attic eye cups are published in Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 211–16, figs. 19–31 (*BAPD* 23606, 44396–43399, 43401–43408).

198. Long, Miro, and Volpe 1992, 214–15.

199. Cf., e.g., Osborne 1996, 38; Izzet 2007a, 220–21; Krotscheck 2015, 182. Cf. also Arnaud 2011, 71–75.

200. E.g., Arnaud 2011, 73. Arnaud argues (62) that the trade patterns implied by the words “cabotage” and “tramping” are not synonymous, even though most English-language writers use them interchangeably. “Cabotage” (as derived from eighteenth-century French) refers to ships following the coasts for port-to-port trade, whereas “tramping” also involves multiple coastal stops but more specifically implies random and opportunistic trade.

201. Louvre Cp11072: *ARV*² 27.7; *BAPD* 200148; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E47. The “as never Euphrosios” amphora is Johnston 2006, 62, cat. 31A4. See chapter 7 below for more on trader 9E.

202. Euthymides amphora, Munich 2309 (ex Canino): *ARV*² 27.4, 1620; *BAPD* 200157; Johnston 2006, 144, cat. 2F50. Phintias hydriai—Munich 2421: n. 8 above, plus Johnston 2006, 144, cat. 2F34; Munich 2422 (ex Candelori), *ARV*² 24.8, 1620; *BAPD* 200127; Johnston 2006, 144, cat. 2F35; London E159 (ex Canino), *ARV*² 24.9, 1620; *BAPD* 200130; Johnston 2006, 144, cat. 2F36. The trader seems to have negotiated batches of vases; each inscription also includes an abbreviation for *chrytides* and a number in Ionian script.

203. Above, n. 7. The *Khairito Euthymides* hydria has another greeting in the same scene: *Khair Sostrato*. Is Sostratos an aristocrat, as has always been assumed—or is this Sostratos the trader?

204. Hermitage 624 (St1624): *ARV*² 28.15; *BAPD* 200132; Johnston 2006, 117, cat. 8E31. Arezzo krater trademark: M. Iozzo in Pasquier and Denoyelle 1990, 118; Johnston 2006, 117, cat. 8E26a.

205. Recent discussion: e.g., Viviers 2006; Villanueva Puig 2007; Tsingarida 2009c, 193–94; Osborne 2010; Hurwit 2015; Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017.

206. Pevnick 2010b, 225 (and see generally Pevnick 2010b, 2011). Pevnick advocates for an audience of Athenian sympotic elites for such identity shifts. For dual identities and an elite audience of Athenian symposiasts, see also Hedreen on Smikros/Euphrosios, n. 12 above.

207. Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017, 170–72, appendix A.

208. Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017, 169.

CHAPTER 3. CONTEXT, CONSUMPTION, AND ATTIC VASES IN ETRURIA

1. Boardman 1999, 199–200. Izzet 2007b similarly offers a critique on this passage. Neer (2002, 9) claims that the “exotic Hellenism” of vases “seems to have been part of their value to Etruscan and other ‘barbarian’ consumers.”

2. Agency of non-Greek artists and audiences: e.g., Small 1991–92; Izzet 2007a, 211–23; 2007b; Gunter 2009, 2016; Hall 2009; Dietler 2010a, 29–31, 43–53; Walsh 2013a, 65–75; Walsh and Antonaccio 2014; Martin 2017; Russell 2016, 2017. Naso 2014 reassesses the degree of influence of Etruscan objects on Greek artists, noting not only bucchero but also Etruscan metalwork brought to Greek sanctuaries.

3. On consumption, cf. Dietler 2010a, 55–74; 2010b; Walsh 2013a, 79–84; Russell 2017; all with further references.

4. Dietler 2010a, 55.

5. Osborne 2018, 45. Cf. Osborne 2001 (e.g., 290, “voracious but discriminating”); 2004a; 2004b, 42 (“voracious appetite”); 2004c, 93; 2007c (where the argument appears somewhat more nuanced than in Osborne 2018).

6. Diodorus 5.40, quoted in Vickers 1985–86, 165. Alleged Etruscan *tryphe*: Liébert 2006, with quotations from Greek sources at 27–40; Bittarello 2009 for Latin authors; Gorman and Gorman 2014, 357–59; H. Becker 2016.

7. E.g., Vickers 1985–86, 165; Gill and Vickers 1995, especially 241–45. Such an assertion is contradicted by subsequent finds of Attic vases in domestic settings: cf. Reusser 2002; Bentz and Reusser 2004.

8. Cf. critique of Vickers 1985–86 in Spivey 1991, 134–35, and general observations in H. Becker 2016. Bittarello (2009, 228) observes that some of the same *topoi* were used for eastern peoples, probably not coincidentally, since many ancient authors believed the Etruscans had Lydian origins.

9. Theopompus F 204 = Athen. 517d–518b. See translation in Flower 1994, 219–20, and discussion at 190–92; also Gorman and Gorman 2014, 301–2; cf. Izzet 2012a; Lewis (2003, 189–90) argues that painters began including women in symposion scenes specifically for the Etruscan market.

10. Trans. Flower 1994, 219; also cited in Lewis 1997, 141; 2003, 189.

11. Lewis 1997, especially 150–51; de la Genière 2009; Lynch 2009; 2017, 136–37 (focusing on heterosexual intercourse). All three scholars advocate production principally for export, albeit with different interpretive emphases. Some exceptions can be found in vases of the Athenian Kerameikos, including in children’s graves: de la Genière 2009, 342–43; Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 220–22; Paleothodoros 2012c. The meaning of these scenes may not have been straightforward, even in Athens.

12. Tarquinia, no inv. no.: *ARV*² 408.36; *BAPD* 204434; Fiorelli 1876, 20 (described as having been found in the communal *scavi* but with no discussion of context); Topper 2012a, 148, fig. 10.4. In contrast to de la Genière, Lewis, and Lynch (n. 11, above), neither Topper (2012a, 147–50) nor Osborne (2018, 46) believe that there is sufficient evidence for the targeting of erotic scenes at the Etruscan market.

13. Oxford 1967.305 (ex Warren, then Beazley’s personal collection): *ARV*² 408.37; *BAPD* 204435; Lynch 2009, 160, fig. 1.

14. Tarquinia RC2983: *ARV*² 367.94; *BAPD* 203886. Tarquinia, no inv. no.: *ARV*² 367.93; *BAPD* 203885.

15. Tyrrhenian Group examples: Kluiver 2003, 100, noting that “the explicit eroticism of many scenes . . . was at the time unprecedented in Attic black figure” (also discussed in Kim 2018). Amphora with scene of homosexual intercourse, possibly from Orvieto, Orvieto, Museo Etrusco Claudio Faina 2663: *ABV* 683.77bis; *BAPD* 306535. See also Sutton 2009b, 78, and catalogue at 85–86. Sutton argues (85, 89, table 2) that black-figure scenes of lovemaking were not exclusively targeted to Etruscan audiences; however, those in the

Tyrrhenian Group repertoire with known or suspected proveniences all come from Etruria, with one exception (from Sardinia). (N.B.: Sutton's unprovenienced cat. 4 [Louvre Cp10513] and cat. 7 [Louvre Cp10519] would have come from Caere, according to the archival findings of Villard 2006.)

16. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite: *BAPD* 7968, 8913; Kluiver 2003, 148, cat. 6, 17. The tomb's assemblage is unpublished at this writing but is on display in the museum.

17. Milan, Museo Civico Archeologico 0.9.8037 (MA248/11): *Paralipomena* 370.33ter; *BAPD* 275962; Kilmer 1993, 253, cat. R530; Ridi 2003, 29–33, cat. 5. Men wielding sandals in erotic scenes: Kilmer 1993, 108–21. Black-figure amphora from the same tomb, attributed to the Leagros Group, Milan 0.9.8031 (MA 248/3): *BAPD* 10206; Ridi 2003, 33–38, cat. 6.

18. Tomb of the Bulls: e.g., Cerchiai 1980; Holloway 1986; Steingraber 1986, 350–51, cat. 120; Small 1991–92, 56–57; Bonfante 1996, 160–62; Lowenstam 2008, 139–48; Warden 2009, 213–14; Brandt 2014b; Carpino 2016, 413–14; all with further references. Preparatory drawings under the homosexual group at right show that it was originally meant to be a heterosexual pair (Bonfante 1996, 162).

19. Tomb of the Whipping: e.g., Steingraber 1986, 307, cat. 67; Bonfante 1996, 163–64, fig. 67.

20. E.g., Holloway 1986; Bonfante 1996, 162–63; Steingraber 2006, 67–68; cf. Brandt 2014b, 56.

21. E.g., Bonfante 1996, 163–64.

22. Boston 86.145a–b: Bonfante 1996, 158–59, fig. 64.

23. Musei Capitolini 358: Bonfante 2016, 66–67, fig. 6.9, with further references.

24. Cf. recent discussion in Carpino 2016; I thank Alexandra Carpino for sharing her article in advance of publication.

25. London 1897.7–27.2: *ABV* 97.27, 683; *BAPD* 310027; Touchefeu-Meynier 1994, 433, cat. 26; G. Schwarz 2001, 36–37, pl. 9.1; Kluiver 2003, 151, cat. 45; Mangieri 2018, 2, fig. 1.1, p. 205, cat. 1.

26. “Miniaturized tumulus” with an altar on top: Mylonopoulos 2013, 74. Van Straten (1995, 272, cat. V422) instead identifies the structure as a “low omphalos-shaped altar.”

27. Cf. Cohen 2014, 18–19, and, for Polyxena imagery generally, Touchefeu-Meynier 1994; G. Schwarz 2001; Mylonopoulos 2013; Mangieri 2018; all with further references.

28. E.g., van Straten 1995; Bundrick 2014a, both with further references.

29. Mylonopoulos 2013, 75. Neer 2012, 109, discusses the problematic status of Neoptolemos.

30. Spivey 1991, 142. Spivey further alleges that the nonsense inscriptions on many Tyrrhenian Group amphorae were “a trading dodge, a means of enhancing value—not for the home market, but for those customers in the West who had, so it seemed, more money than sense.” The catalogue of Kluiver 2003, however, which reassesses attributions to specific painters, suggests that some Group painters were simply more literate than others.

31. Osborne 2001, 278; cf. Osborne 1998, 95; Mayer-Emmerling 1982. Lynch 2017, 135, states that scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae “are often more graphic or show a moment not typically depicted on vessels destined to stay in Athens or other Greek sites.”

32. Von Mehren 2002, 51. Von Mehren 2001, 46, similarly notes the “often violent and bloody episodes” on Tyrrhenian amphorae and accepts that iconography was tailored to Etruscan taste.

33. Kluiver 2003, 101–2; cf. Carpino 2016, 411.

34. Kluiver 2003, 93.

35. Cf. fragmentary Attic red-figure cup found in a Caeretan tomb with two young men muzzling a struggling doe and bringing it toward an officiant with knife, Villa Giulia, no. inv. no.: *BAPD* 21316; Gilotta

1995; Rask 2014, 304, fig. 4. No altar appears, but the officiant wears a priest's long sleeveless tunic and is accompanied by the fragmentary inscription H[IEP]EYΣ.

36. Cf. critique in Carpino 2009, 2016; and see further Bittarello 2009; Cerchiai, Lubtchansky, and Pouzadoux 2015.

37. Carpino 2009, 2016.

38. Etruscan appropriation of Greek myth (and the agency exercised therein): e.g., Small 1991–92; de Grummond 2006, 12–21; Krauskopf 2016; Bonfante 2016; contra, e.g., Camporeale 1965.

39. Installed in the Villa Giulia: Haynes 2000, 178–81, fig. 154.

40. Carpino 2016, 412–13.

41. In Etruscan vase painting: e.g., Lowenstam 2008, 141–48; Woodford 2010; Wulschleger 2011; Hedreen 2012. Tomb of the Bulls: see n. 18 above.

42. Small 1991–92, 56–57.

43. Cf. Hedreen 2012.

44. Woodford 2010, 104, with earlier references.

45. Partial quote from Arnobius, who in turn references the Etruscan *Libri Acherontici*; cf. also the second-century CE writer Labeo's *De diis animalibus*, quoted by Servius (*Ad Aen.*). See, e.g., de Grummond 2006, 209; Warden 2009, 205.

46. E.g., Damgaard Andersen 1993; Tuck 1994, 2012; Steingraber 2002; Camporeale 2009.

47. E.g., Warden 2009, 205–6; Camporeale 2009; Prayon 2010; Steingraber and Menichelli 2010; Steingraber 2016; all with further references.

48. E.g., de Grummond 2006, 198, 209–10; Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 55; Warden 2009, 2012; Camporeale 2009; Brandt 2014a, 125–27; Carpino 2016, 413–14.

49. Reports as evidence of bias: e.g., Di Fazio 2001, 2013. Livy claims that Etruscans executed 307 Roman soldiers in the forum of Tarquinia in 358 BCE (7.15.10), while Herodotos describes the stoning of Greek prisoners after a battle (1.166–67).

50. De Grummond 2016a, with earlier references. I thank Nancy de Grummond for sharing a copy of her article in advance of publication.

51. Steingraber 1986, 377–80, cat. 178; Lowenstam 2008, 158–65. The term “demon” has been applied to supernatural figures serving as guides or *psychopompoi* in Etruscan art since the earliest investigations and is used here with neither a positive nor negative connotation; cf. Krauskopf 1987, 2009; Jannot 2000.

52. Themes of liminality relative to Etruscan tombs: e.g., Torelli 1997, 1999, 2002; D. Steiner 2004; Krauskopf 2006; Izzet 2007a (passim); Lubtchansky 2014b; Bonamici 2005, 2014; Colonna 2014; Roncalli 2014; Brandt 2014a. Liminality in funerary ritual and spaces generally: e.g., van Gennep 1960; V. Turner 1964; Parker Pearson 1993, 204; Riva and Stoddart 1996; C. Fowler 2013; and further references below.

53. Torelli 1999, 147–48; Jannot 2005, 56; Steingraber 2006, 66; Brandt 2014a, 117.

54. E.g., Warden 2009, 213–14; 2012, 83.

55. See chapter 5 for funerary imagery related to water.

56. Pania pyxis, Florence 73846: Haynes 2000, 110–11, fig. 91; Torelli 2002, 50–53; Bonaudo 2010, 24, fig. 12. San Paolo olpe, Villa Giulia 110976: Riva 2010a. François Vase from Chiusi, signed by Ergotimos as potter and Kleitias as painter, Florence 4209: *ABV* 76.1, 682; *BAPD* 300000; Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter 2013, with many references; and see further chapter 7. Contra Stewart (1983, 70), who alleges of the François Vase that “only Greeks steeped in the mythological, epic, and lyric traditions of that homeland could have appreciated its intricate and subtle iconography.”

57. Tyrrhenian amphorae: Munich 1426 by the Timiades Painter, from Vulci, *ABV* 95.5; *BAPD* 310005; Florence 70993 by the Prometheus Painter, from Pescia Romana, *ABV* 95.6, 683, *BAPD* 310006. Euphronios cup, Perugia 89 (attributed to Onesimos as painter), from Vulci (ex Canino): *ARV²* 313, 320.8, 1595; *BAPD* 203224; Bonaparte 1829b, 77, cat. 568; Hedreen 2012, 134–35, figs. 1a–b.

58. Cerveteri, Museo Archeologico Cerite 19539: Bonfante 2016, 68, fig. 6.10; Mangieri 2018, 88–89, fig. 4.16, p. 211, cat. POL 48 (catalogued as uncertain depiction, although identification seems to be accepted in the text).

59. New York 03.23.1: Lowenstam 2008, 128–36, with figs. 65–67; Emiliozzi 2011; Mangieri 2018, 212, cat. POL 54 (catalogued as uncertain).

60. Accepted in, e.g., Bonfante 2016, 68; Lowenstam 2008 and Emiliozzi 2011 are more skeptical.

61. Emiliozzi (2011, 57, 61) suggests that the first owner who used the chariot in life and the deceased into whose tomb it was placed may not have been the same person, but there is no way to be certain. Chariots appear in both male and female Etruscan graves, but the Monteleone chariot is accepted as having belonged to a male deceased, based on the other tomb goods (for which see Emiliozzi 2011).

62. The famous Greek sarcophagus from Asia Minor with the sacrifice of Polyxena was found in the tomb of a middle-aged man; although some have argued that it was intended for a woman because of its female-centered iconography, Neer 2012 suggests that it was meant for the man's grave.

63. Cf. Mangieri 2018, 148.

64. Cf. Pilo and Giuman 2015; Mangieri 2018, 149–50. Only the late fourth-century Torre San Severo sarcophagus unambiguously depicts Polyxena's death, although its authenticity has been questioned. Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina: Mangieri 2018, 87–88, 207, cat. POL 22.

65. Cf., e.g., Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170; Langdon 2001; Ekengren 2013; Fogelin and Schiffer 2015.

66. Louvre F126 (ex Campana): *ARV²* 43.72, 55.13; *BAPD* 200279; Cohen 1978, 337–41, cat. B44. Etruscan inscription: Briquel and Gaultier 1989–90; Colonna 1996b, 183, fig. 21; Maggiani 1997, 24, *Originis Incertae* cat. A3; Maras 2000, 130–31.

67. E.g., Jannot 1991; Serra Ridgway 2004–6; Krauskopf 2006, 76.

68. Colonna 1996b, 183n85.

69. Steingraber 1986, 278–79, cat. 32; de Grummond 2006, 231–33, figs. X.27–28; Camporeale 2009, 233, 235–36, figs. 14.11–12.

70. See, e.g., Roncalli 1997; Serra Ridgway 2004–6, 138–40, fig. 11; Adinolfi, Carmagnola, and Cataldi 2005a, 2005b; de Grummond 2006, 214, 216, fig. X.8.

71. *Kylikeia*: van der Meer 1984; Spivey 1991, 135–38; Jannot 1995; Reusser 2002, 2:101–12; Wiel-Marin 2005; Tsingarida, forthcoming.

72. Etruscan banquets: e.g., Cristofani 1987; Rathje 1990, 1994, 2013; Small 1994a; Tuck 1994; Nijboer 2013; Mitterlechner 2016.

73. Initial publication: Small 1971.

74. Chianciano Terme, Museo Archeologico: Maggiani and Paolucci 2005, 5–10, figs. 9–11.

75. Maggiani and Paolucci 2005; Baughan 2013, 226–32, with earlier references.

76. Louvre E635: Spivey 2007, 233–36. Corinthian column kraters may have been targeted to the Etruscan market: de la Genière 1988a; but see Cristofani and Martelli 1991. Introduction of reclining into Greece: Baughan 2013, 198–218, with further references. Topper 2012b argues that even if reclining and other sympotic customs were introduced into Greece from the east, the Greeks presented them as part of their local and even heroic past. Wecowski 2014 suggests that the Greek symposium is fundamentally different from Near

Eastern banquets. A cultivated atmosphere of equality, he argues, was the defining feature of symposia more than reclining.

77. The Murlo plaques include two reclining pairs with one beardless and one bearded person; the left-most pair seems to be a male-female couple, and the right-hand one could be as well: see Small 1971, 60–61, and 28, fig. 1, for a drawing. Corinthian column krater Louvre E629 depicts men and women reclining together (de la Genière 1988a, 88, fig. 7); however, if de la Genière is correct in hypothesizing production targeted to the Etruscans, this may explain the mixed couples. The Attic phiale from Pyrgi in chapter 1 features women reclining with men on its interior, and so do the Perizoma Group stamnoi (see chapter 2).

78. Cf. Small 1994b, 46; Izzet 2007a, 13–14.

79. E.g., van der Meer 1984.

80. Steingraber 1986, 353–54, cat. 123.

81. Small 1994b, 38; Paleothodoros 2011, 47.

82. Steingraber 1986, 327–28, cat. 91; drawing of *kylikeion* in Spivey 1991, 136–37, fig. 55.

83. Moretti 1961; ships: Petrarulo 2012.

84. Proposed in Colonna 2003 as an alternative reading, but Petrarulo 2012 suggests that the two interpretations need not be mutually exclusive.

85. Etruscan funeral: Jannot 2005, 45–50; preparation of the body in Etruscan art: Camporeale 1959; Brigger and Giovannini 2004; Taylor 2014.

86. Cf. Riva and Stoddart 1996.

87. Cf. Boyd 2014, 198, regarding metal objects in Mycenaean funeral processions.

88. Bertani 1995; Pieraccini 2000, 2016.

89. Steingraber 1986, 285, cat. 44.

90. E.g., Walberg 1986; Pieraccini 2011, 128; Tsingarida, forthcoming; all with earlier references. Amman 2001 provides a goddess interpretation; Lubtchansky 2006 suggests that all three are deceased family members participating in a komos.

91. Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar in Etruria: e.g., De Puma 1986; Walberg 1986; Cristofani 1988–89; de Grummond 1991; 2006, 189–95; Colonna 1996b; Jannot 2005, 154–55; Simon 2006, 54, 60; all with further references.

92. Rarity of Etruscan-produced kylikes: Paleothodoros 2011, 49–50.

93. Villa Giulia 106462: *ARV*² 1623.66bis, 1699; *BAPD* 275028; Moretti 1966; Pipili 1992, 828, cat. 41. Cf. sacrificial scene with an officiant holding a kylix over an altar on an Etruscan black-figure amphora, Dresden ZV1653; Pieraccini 2011, 129, fig. 3.

94. Hercle: e.g., S. Schwarz 1990, 2009; Jannot 2005, 165–66; de Grummond 2006, 180–88.

95. E.g., Brizzolara and Baldoni 2010b; Palmieri 2011, 129–35.

96. Oltos cup, Vulci, Museo Archeologico 133346: Moretti Sgubini 2002, 99, cat. II.A.1, figs. on p. 107. Euergides Painter cup, Vulci, Museo Archeologico 133347: Moretti Sgubini 2002, 99, cat. II.A.2, figs. on p. 108. See also Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005, 526.

97. Tarquinia RC6848: *ARV*² 60.66, 1622; *BAPD* 200502; Ferrari 1988, 23–29, cat. 3; Colonna 1996b, 174–75, fig. 15; Maggiani 1997, 21–22, cat. Tarquinia A1; Maras 2000, 130–31, fig. 4; de Grummond 2006, 189–90, figs. VIII.18a–b; Tsingarida 2009c, 197–99, cat. 2, and forthcoming. Discovery: Helbig 1875, 171–73.

98. Cf. Maggiani 1997, 41, observing that with the dedication of the Oltos cup, whose formula recalls votives in sanctuaries, the tomb became a kind of shrine to the Dioskouroi.

99. E.g., de Grummond 1991; Carpino 2008.

100. Cf. Schefold 1992, 26–27, 46–47.
101. Cf. Ferrari 1988, 27, describing Ganymede as “il vero protagonista della scena.”
102. Departing Olympos: e.g., Ferrari 1988, 25. On his way to Olympos: e.g., Helbig 1875, 172–73; Shapiro 1989a, 136; Schefold 1992, 47.
103. Tarquinia RC5292, attributed to the Pedieus Painter: *ARV*² 86.4, 1605.2; *BAPD* 200692; Ferrari 1988, 34–39, cat. 6. Dioskouroi interpretation: e.g., Tsingarida 2009c, 197–98; Tsingarida, forthcoming.
104. Dionysos in Etruria: Cristofani and Martelli 1978; Cristofani 1986; Colonna 1991; Bonfante 1993; Paleothodoros 2007b. Wine trade: Zifferero 2005.
105. E.g., Jannot 2005, 160. Cf. the apparent cult of Fufluns at Campo della Fiera outside Orvieto, where he received Attic vases as offerings and may have been linked to female chthonic deities: Bizzarri 2012, with further references.
106. Florence 4223: *BAPD* 5461; Cristofani and Martelli 1978, 120–21, 123–24, pls. 35–37; Maggiani 1997, 22–23, cat. Vulci A2.
107. Munich 2689: *ARV*² 879.2, 1673; *BAPD* 211566; Cristofani and Martelli 1978, 121–23, pl. 34; Maggiani 1997, 22, cat. Vulci A1.
108. *BAPD* 23669; Maggiani 1997, 21, cat. Pyrgi A2; Baglione and Colonna 1997. *Śuri* as a form of *Aplu*: e.g., Colonna 1996a, accepted in, e.g., Haynes 2000, 183; de Grummond 2006, 133; Baglione 2013b. Cavatha: de Grummond 2004, 359–60.
109. Summary of the deposit in Baglione 2013a, 83–87.
110. *Śuthina* inscriptions generally: Briquel 1995; Fontaine 1995; De Puma 2008, with further references. Sometimes the alternative spelling of *śutil* or *śuthil* is seen, with equivalent meaning: Saunders 2014, 192.
111. Red-figure bell krater attributed to the Nausikaa Painter, Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite, no inv. no.: *BAPD* 8910; Fontaine 1995, 213, fig. 4.
112. E.g., Fontaine 1995; De Puma 2008; see de Grummond 2009 for mirrors.
113. Fontaine 1995, 208. Cf. Rystedt (2006, 504), who suggests that the inscription “demonstrates a wish to protect the amphora against attempts at tampering or theft, attempts that probably arose from the material and social value of the inscribed objects.”
114. De Grummond 2009, 176.
115. Kraters: the bell krater in n. 111 and a red-figure calyx krater attributed to the Syleus Painter, Getty 81.AE.219; *BAPD* 23214; Saunders 2014. Pelikai: red-figure pelike by the Painter of the Birth of Athena, probably from Caere (Hamburg 1980.174: *BAPD* 5647; Hornbostel 1982, 104–9); red-figure pelike by the Barclay Painter, likely from Caere (Louvre G535, ex Campana: *ARV*² 1067.9; *BAPD* 214380); red-figure pelike by the Niobid Painter, likely from Caere (Louvre G431, ex Campana: *ARV*² 604.48; *BAPD* 206987). Stamnoi: red-figure stamnos by the Painter of the Louvre Symposion, likely from Caere (Louvre G415, ex Campana: *ARV*² 1070.2; *BAPD* 214408); red-figure stamnos by the Deepdene Painter, likely from Caere (Louvre G188bis, ex Campana: *ARV*² 498.6; *BAPD* 205592). Fragmentary oversized red-figure phiale by Douris, Villa Giulia (ex Getty): *BAPD* 15527; Robertson 1991, with brief mention of the Etruscan inscription *śuthil* at 86–87; Tsingarida 2009c, 201, cat. 27. Black-figure Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, possibly from Caere, Louvre F277 (ex Campana): *ABV* 404.15; *BAPD* 303056; Bentz 1998, 139, cat. 5.012; Rystedt 2006. Black-figure Panathenaic amphora fragment attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, Getty 81.AE.203.6.2.1: *BAPD* 9016244; Saunders 2014, 192, fig. 8. Saunders 2014, 192–94, publishes six other Getty fragments with *śutil* or *śuthil* inscriptions.
116. Hornbostel 1982, 107, drawing of inscription on 108; Shapiro 2003b, 94, fig. 9.

117. Hornbostel 1982, 105–6.
118. Rystedt 2006, 504.
119. Getty 81.AE.219, Louvre G415, Louvre G188bis, Louvre G431, and the bell krater in Cerveteri: see nn. 111, 115 above.
120. M. Martelli in *StEtr* 56 (1989–90) 359–60, no. 76, pl. 66. The krater was found in a disturbed context.
121. Likewise emphasizing the importance of assemblages: Reusser 2002; Paleothodoros 2009; Rasmussen 2013.
122. E.g., Joyce and Pollard 2010; Ekengren 2013; C. Fowler 2013; Boyd 2014.
123. Cf. Parker Pearson 1993; Ekengren 2013, 182; Boyd 2014, 193.
124. Izzet 2007a, 48.
125. Examples in, e.g., Nilsson 1999; Carpino 2008; and see below.
126. Cf., e.g., Ginge 1996; Whitehouse 2001.
127. E.g., Toms 1998; Iaia 1999, 2009–12; Whitehouse 2001; Riva 2010b, 74–84. This tendency has recently been called into question. An inhumation burial found in the Doganaccia necropolis of Tarquinia in 2013 was initially thought male because of a spear lying beside the body, but forensic analysis verified a woman in her late thirties. Cremated remains on the tomb's other bench belong to a man, leaving it unclear to whom the spear belonged. See Shipley 2015 for the media coverage and what she views as an androcentric bias in Etruscan archaeology.
128. Iaia 2009–12, 88–89, fig. 10.
129. Knives and meat spits: e.g., Riva 2010b, 90–93; strigils: Massa-Pairault 1991.
130. Carpino 2008, 4, notes three mirrors associated with male inhumation burials in fourth-century and Hellenistic tombs in the Calvario area of Tarquinia and other examples at Castiglione del Lago and Gioella near Chiusi. Mirror with genitive-case inscription referring to a male owner, Newcastle upon Tyne, Shefton Collection 311: Parkin 2016, and see discussion below.
131. See generally Serra Ridgway 2000.
132. Carpino 2008. Tinas Cliniar mirror, Tomb 5699 (third century, belonging to a man in his late twenties): Carpino 2008, 11–12, figs. 10–11.
133. Helbig 1881b; Fiorelli 1881; Cristofani 1980; Bonaudo 2004, 13–15; Reusser 2005, 317–21 (“Grab der Oliven”). Cristofani (1980, 27, fig. 20) provides a drawing of the distribution of objects based on Helbig's description.
134. Helbig 1881b, 159. Cf. Tuck 2012, 49–50; Steingraber 2016, 105–6.
135. Cristofani (1980, 30) instead speculates that the tomb held two women.
136. London 1887, 0725.30 (B59): Cristofani 1980, 3, fig. 1; Hemelrijk 1984, 7–9, cat. 1; Bonaudo 2004, 255, cat. 1.
137. Banqueting traditions at Caere: e.g., Tuck 1994; Pieraccini 2000, 2016. Cf. Bartoloni, Acconcia, and ten Kortenaar 2012 on banqueting “sets” from ca. 730–675, but stressing a stronger Homeric connection than I am inclined to do here. See Pieraccini 2016, 143, on the pitfalls of overemphasizing a “Homeric backdrop.”
138. Cf., e.g., Damgaard Andersen 1993, 46–49; Tuck 1994, 618–20.
139. E.g., the “Marriage Sarcophagus” in the Villa Giulia and a related version in the Louvre; de Grummond 2016b. Baughan (2013, 226–27) leans toward paired beds.
140. Louvre Cp5193 (ex Campana): De Grummond 2016b, 186, fig. 16.3. The wife holds a pomegranate in her other hand as a symbol of regeneration.

141. See Cristofani 1980 for specific identifications.
142. See lists in Cristofani 1980, 24n48; Ridgway 1997, 331–35.
143. Ridgway 1997, with discussion of the drink's properties at 327–29.
144. Ridgway 1997.
145. Rumpf 1923–24, 66–70; Cristofani 1980, 9–12. Karlsruhe B2423: *ABV* 100.65 (with provenience given as “Cervetri?” and citing Rumpf), 684; *BAPD* 310064; Kluiver 2003, 161, cat. 152. Leipzig T3324: *ABV* 98.36; *BAPD* 310035; Kluiver 2003, 160, cat. 150.
146. Helbig 1881b, 163. Castellani Painter: Kluiver 2003, 62–72. This pair of Tyrrhenian amphorae is paralleled by a pair attributed to the Prometheus Painter from Tomb 207 of the Monte Abatone cemetery; see n. 16 above.
147. Helbig mentions only “una donna completamente vestita ed un uomo barbato” to the right of the fight (1881b, 164) and so must have missed the rightmost figure.
148. Achilles and Memnon on Tyrrhenian amphorae: von Mehren 2002, 46–48; Kluiver 2003, 87–88.
149. A Tyrrhenian amphora by the Timiades Painter from Caere with a similar scene has the inscription “Eos” next to one of the women with wreaths, per Kluiver 2003, 87. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite: *Paralipomena* 40; Kluiver 2003, 152, cat. 62.
150. Monteleone di Spoleto chariot: n. 59 above.
151. Carpino 2009; cf. Carpino 2003, 17–19.
152. Carpino 2009, 187.
153. Kluiver 2003, 93–94.
154. Horse races on Tyrrhenian amphorae: Kluiver 2003, 98 (forty-six scenes spanning the entire Group).
155. Tomb of the Inscriptions: Steingräber 1986, 314, cat. 74; Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games: 1986, 321, cat. 83.
156. Tomb of the Master of the Olympic Games, n. 155 above; Tomb of the Olympic Games: Steingräber 1986, 328–29, cat. 92.
157. Helbig 1881b, 165.
158. Fiorelli 1881, 167.
159. Cristofani 1980, 25.
160. New York 17.230.8: *ABV* 307.55, 693; *BAPD* 301535; Böhr 1982, 89, cat. 76. Reusser (2005, 319) likewise identifies the Metropolitan amphora with this tomb; I discovered Reusser's article after arriving at the same conclusion.
161. See *CVA* for Warren's ownership of the Leipzig amphora. Joan Mertens shared information about Warren's ownership of the Metropolitan amphora in a personal communication (email, 18 November 2015); this information is not given in *CVA*. She added that the amphora appears in a photograph from Lewes House that dates between 1897 and 1899, kept in the Metropolitan's files. I thank Dr. Mertens for her assistance with this project.
162. Böhr 1982, 56.
163. Hemelrijk (2009, 63) dates the hydria ca. 530–525, while Bonaudo (2004, 255) opts for ca. 540–530.
164. Cf. Reusser 2005, 320–21, on dating the assemblage.
165. Sinos 1994, 107–8; also Mertens 2014.
166. E.g., Bartoloni and Grottanelli 1989; Bartoloni 1993; Riva 2010b, 95–107; Emiliozzi 2011, 2013; Banducci 2014.
167. Lowenstam 2008, 131, fig. 67.

168. Because of later, ancient disturbance to the tomb, the chariot remains are very fragmentary. Bones of horses were found mostly in the dromos during excavation, but also in the main chamber. Their position at the time of initial burial is unclear. See Adinolfi, Carmagnola, and Cataldi 2005b, 440–42; De Grossi Mazzorin 2016.

169. See, e.g., Moon 1983b; Mertens 2014, 142, with further references. These subjects on hydriai sent to Vulci: Brunori 2006.

170. Munich 1721 (*ABV* 332.24; *BAPD* 301802; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E8); London B317 (*ABV* 335.7; *BAPD* 301820; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E12); Madison 68.14.1 (*Paralipomena* 146.26bis; *BAPD* 351082; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E21a). Moon 1983b discusses the Priam Painter, these scenes, and the Etruscan market, but does not include the evidence of trademarks, which further supports his point. See also Brunori 2006 and chapters 4 and 5 below.

171. The four with known or alleged site: Vatican G36, from Vulci (*ABV* 304.1; *BAPD* 301481); Boston 89.257, said to be from Tarquinia (*ABV* 304.2; *BAPD* 301482); Villa Giulia, from Tarquinia, Monterozzi Tomb 1139 (*BAPD* 7875; Moretti 1975, 57, cat. 3); Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina 334, from Orvieto (*ABV* 304.5; *BAPD* 301485).

172. Leipzig T3328 (manner of Swing Painter: *BAPD* 6093); Gotha AHV30 (*BAPD* 10475, manner of Swing Painter: Böhr; Swing Painter: M. Moore); private collection (*BAPD* 8831, manner of Swing Painter: Böhr; Swing Painter: D. von Bothmer).

173. Cf. Torelli 1992; Emiliozzi 2011, 37.

174. See Early Iron Age and Orientalizing assemblages in Riva 2010b, with further references.

175. D. Williams 1992, 624, 629. Two stamnoi: New York 18.74.1 (*ARV*² 498.2, 1656; *BAPD* 205588; D. Williams 1992, 630, figs. 17–18); Karlsruhe 211/B1904 (*ARV*² 498.5; *BAPD* 205591; D. Williams 1992, 631, figs. 19–20). Both are on long-term loan to the British Museum.

176. Beazley 1945; D. Williams 1992, 629. Ram's-head vase, London E800: *ARV*² 766.12, 1669; *BAPD* 209491; D. Williams 1992, 629, fig. 16.

177. D. Williams 1992, 623; cf. de la Genière 2002, 175.

178. Cup, London E65: *ARV*² 370.13, 398, 1649; *BAPD* 203912; D. Williams 1992, 622–23, figs. 3–5. Skyphos, London E140: *ARV*² 459.3, 481, 1654; *BAPD* 204683; D. Williams 1992, 625–26, figs. 6–9.

179. Sphinx rhyton attributed to Sotades as potter and the Sotades Painter, London E788: *ARV*² 764.8; *BAPD* 209465; D. Williams 1992, 626–28, figs. 10–15. Sphinx vase attributed to the Tarquinia Painter, London E787: *ARV*² 870.89; *BAPD* 211482; D. Williams 1992, 632–33, figs. 21–23.

180. Beazley 1945, 158; D. Williams 1992, 632–33.

181. Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, 365–67. The reverse of the Metropolitan's Eos/Kephalos stamnos shows what Helbig called a “scena nuziale,” a young woman plucking at her drapery in what is usually interpreted as a nuptial gesture, facing a young man with a staff and accompanied by a second woman with a now-abraded sprig.

182. D. Williams 1992, 634; cf., among others, Lewis 2002, 202; Isler-Kerényi 2009a, 81.

183. See chapter 6 for Athenian vases with erotic pursuit scenes used as cineraria, where the deceased's gender seems to accord with the scene's iconography.

184. D. Williams 1992, 635.

185. D. Williams 1992, 636.

186. D. Williams 1992, 628.

187. Shaprio 1995a, 45.

188. D. Williams 1992, 636.
189. De la Genière 2002, especially 175–76 for lekythoi; Denoyelle 2008, 211.
190. Cf. Cuzzo 2013.
191. Cerchiai 1997; cf. Cerchiai 2008, 11–13; Batino 2002.
192. Basel BS1906.296: *ARV*² 606.67; *BAPD* 207008; Helbig 1872, 45; Beazley 1945, 154. *Śuthina* vase, Hamburg 1980.174; n. 115 above.
193. Winged figures in Etruscan black-figure pottery: Scarrone 2011; Klinger 2013, especially 49–60. Cf. Krauskopf 2009.
194. Bloch and Minot 1986; de Grummond 2006, 107–11.
195. Abducting Kephalos on mirror: e.g., Vatican 12241 (ca. 470–460): De Puma 1994, 184, fig. 16.7; cf. also Carpino 2003, 17–21. Thesan and Memnun more generally: De Puma 1994; Carpino 2009.
196. Parkin 2016, 145.
197. E.g., De Puma 1994, 187; Avramidou 2011, 36. Contra Shipley (2016b, 243), who claims that scenes of Eos' erotic pursuit of a youth (whom Shipley identifies as Kephalos with no mention of the Tithonos possibility) are “unique to Athens” and that such scenes appear “to be more favorable and familiar to an Athenian audience.”
198. The Metropolitan stamnos from the Brygos Tomb carries trademark 2C (Johnston 2006, 94, cat. 2C2), found on few pots, but one is a stamnos by the Chicago Painter likewise from Capua, Chicago 1889.22: *ARV*² 628.4; *BAPD* 207285.
199. E.g., Raubitschek and Raubitschek 1982; Shapiro 1989a, 76–77; Hayashi 1992; Matheson 1994.
200. As noted in de la Genière 1988b, 163; Pierre 2008; Tantillo 2012. Contra Shipley (2016b, 243), who includes Triptolemos in her “unique to Athens” chart despite multiple black- and red-figure Attic vases with Triptolemos surviving from Vulci and Caere, two of the sites in her analysis.
201. E.g., Bellelli 2012, with further references.
202. See, e.g., Colonna 1987, especially 22–23; Simon 2006, 47–48.
203. Southern Sanctuary at Pyrgi: Baglione 2013b, with further references. Cavatha seems to have formed a divine couple with Śuri. Her worship at Orvieto is attested by an inscription on an Attic skyphos attributed to the Splanchnopt Painter, acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1924, possibly from the Belvedere Temple excavations of that year, Copenhagen 2718: *ARV*² 898.139; *BAPD* 211895; Cristofani 1992; de Grummond 2004, 359.
204. All acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1924. Hydria by the Berlin Painter, Copenhagen 2696: *ARV*² 210.181, 1634; *BAPD* 201999. Pelike by the Triptolemos Painter, Copenhagen 2695: *ARV*² 362.19; *BAPD* 203810. Oinochoe by the Cleveland Painter, Copenhagen 2697: *ARV*² 517.111; *BAPD* 205799.
205. De Grummond 2004, 360, notes that Catha (= Cavatha) and Fufluns are adjacent to one another on the Piacenza bronze liver, which serves as a “map” of the Etruscan universe.
206. D. Williams 1992, 626–27, for the sphinx in Greek funerary art; cf. Hoffmann 1994.
207. E.g., nenfro sphinx in a private collection, almost surely from Vulci (Haynes 2000, 153, fig. 134), and another sphinx found intact at a tomb in the Osteria necropolis at Vulci in 2012. See further van Kampen 2009, 2016.
208. Campana Tomb (Veii), main chamber, beside doorway to rear chamber: Steingraber 1986, pl. 197. Tomb in the Orientalizing Style (Chiusi), left and right walls of the tomb together with panthers, now lost but described in Steingraber 1986, 275, with earlier references. Tomb of the Bulls (Tarquinia), main chamber rear wall pediment: Steingraber 1986, pls. 157, 159.

209. True 2006, 245. Hoffmann (1994, 71) notes, however, that the cup of the rhyton is not painted on the inside and suggests that it never held wine.

210. True 2006, 245–46, noting local imitations by potters in south Italy and Sicily.

211. D. Williams 1992, 635. Villa Giulia 64039 from Vulci: *ARV*² 772; *BAPD* 209546 (see chapter 5 below). Reggio Calabria 148 from Locri: *ARV*² 766.4bis; *BAPD* 209482. Brauron 709 (with running woman on the bowl): *BAPD* 9017892.

212. E.g., Shapiro 1998; also Avramidou 2011, 33–36.

213. Avramidou 2011, 34–35, discussing *BAPD* 44371. Cf. also black-figure loutrophoros fragments from the Akropolis that depict Athena and baby Erichthonios: *BAPD* 264, 266–69.

214. From Vulci, stamnos by the Painter of Munich 2413 (name vase): *ARV*² 495.1, 1656; *BAPD* 205571; Shapiro 1998, 135, fig. 3. Also from Vulci, hydria by the Oinante Painter, London E182: *ARV*² 580.2, 1615; *BAPD* 206695; Shapiro 1998, 141, fig. 11. From Chiusi, calyx krater near the Talos Painter, Palermo 2365: *ARV*² 1339.3; *BAPD* 217525. Codrus Painter cup, Berlin F2537: *ARV*² 1268.2, 1689; *BAPD* 217211; described in Helbig 1876b and said to have been found “tra i rottami di alcune tombe interamente devastate” (205).

215. Avramidou 2011, 69.

216. Avramidou 2011, 69.

217. Avramidou 2011, 36.

218. Massa-Pairault 2012, 117–19.

219. Helbig 1872, 42–43. See further discussion of Triton in chapter 5 below.

220. Cf., e.g., D. Steiner 2004, 70–75.

221. Tomb of the Reliefs: Steingraber 1986, 262–63, cat. 9; cf. Tomb of the Typhon at Tarquinia (Tomba del Tifone, mid-second century): Steingraber 1986, 247–48, cat. 118.

222. Steingraber 1986, 360, cat. 141.

223. E.g., Tomb of the Monkey, Chiusi (Tomba della Scimmia, ca. 480–470): Steingraber 1986, 273–75, cat. 25; Golini Tomb II, Orvieto (ca. 350–325): Steingraber 1986, 279, cat. 33.

224. Tomb of Orcus I: Steingraber 1986, 329, cat. 93; Golini Tomb II: see n. 223 above; Golini Tomb I: see n. 69 above. Aita holds a snake in the Tomb of Orcus II at Tarquinia (ca. 325–300): Steingraber 1986, 329–31, cat. 94.

225. Helbig 1883a, 40–42. Helbig says it was “anticamente visitata,” so any other metal objects originally in the tomb had been removed.

226. Stamnos, Rome, Torlonia collection 78: *ARV*² 633.9; *BAPD* 207344. Phialai, Rome, Torlonia collection 77 and 79: *ARV*² 917.192–93; *BAPD* 211129–211130; Helbig 1883a, 40–41. These vases have never been photographed or published beyond Helbig and Beazley, and they remain inaccessible to scholars. This discussion relies on Helbig’s descriptions.

227. E.g., the male drinker/husband in the pediment of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca) at Tarquinia (ca. 510, Steingraber 1986, pl. 45) and the many male banqueters on Hellenistic urns from Chiusi and Volterra.

228. Phialai in Etruscan tomb paintings: e.g., Jannot 1995, 174–75; cf. Tsingarida 2009a on the phiale as drinking vessel. Kéi 2014 stresses the multivalence of phialai and the similarity of their imagery to that of drinking cups (including erotic pursuits). For oversized phialai in sanctuary and tomb contexts, see Tsingarida 2009c and forthcoming; see chapter 1 above for the example from Pyrgi.

229. Cf. the unprovenanced pair of coral-red phialai attributed to the Berlin Painter (or in his manner) and possibly potted by Euphronios, Getty 76.AE.96.1–2: *BAPD* 5732, 5733; Cohen 2006, 64–65, cat. 11–12; Tsingarida 2014a, 264–65, figs. 2–3; Padgett 2017, 400–401, cat. BNM16–17 (manner of Berlin Painter).

230. Comparandum to the Torlonia vase, also by the Methyse Painter and from Vulci, Louvre G410: *ARV*² 633.8, 1663; *BAPD* 207343.

231. See Carpenter 1997, 79–82; Peirce 1998; Hedreen 2014; and references below for discussion of the problem.

232. For which see de la Genière 1987c, 2013; Carpenter 1997, 79–82; both offer slightly different interpretations of how Athenian painters understood the images they were painting. Topper (2012b, 125–28) suggests that the “Lenaia” vases depict “primitivist” scenes of worship and reflect “a popular perception of the Etruscans as a culture that preserved customs that had fallen out of fashion among the Athenians.” Hedreen 2014 also identifies the images as primitivist but does not address the export market. Osborne (2018, 46) describes as “dubious” claims that the scenes were targeted to the Etruscans.

233. Rendeli 1993, 2, fig. 1.

CHAPTER 4. ATHENIAN EYE CUPS ABROAD

1. Munich 8729/2044: *ABV* 146.21, 686; *BAPD* 310403 (with many references); Bonaparte 1829b, 179–82, cat. 1900; Fellmann 2004, 14–19; Isler-Kérynyi 2007, 171–87; Mackay 2010, 221–41, cat. 20; Moignard 2015, 101–23. This chapter represents a reworking of Bundrick 2015; I thank the Archaeological Institute of America for permission to use material from the article.

2. Coral red/intentional red: e.g., Cohen 2006, 44–53.

3. For Exekian signatures, see Mackay 2010, 4–6, and *passim*.

4. E.g., Mackay 2010, 232–36, proposing that the cup shows the arrival of Dionysos from Naxos, in connection with the Athenian Anthesteria festival. The more traditional interpretation is favored in other recent scholarship: e.g., Paleothodoros 2012b, 462–66; Moignard 2015, 118.

5. Mackay (2010, 239–41) dates the cup to the end of Exekias’ middle period (her Phase 2) and notes the existence of other eye cups from the 530s. Hannestad (1986, 42) points out that the Lydan workshop was, if not contemporary with Exekias in their production of eye cups, not far behind him. Further discussion in Fellmann 2004, 17.

6. Eye bowls (e.g., “stacked” example from Naukratis, London 1888.6–1.392): Ferrari 1986, 12–14. Possible inspiration for Athenian eye cups: Jackson 1976, 57–71.

7. Jordan 1988 remains the most comprehensive discussion; see also Bloesch 1940; Beazley 1986.

8. See Cohen 1978 for bilingual eye cups; D. Williams 1988 for Late Archaic red-figure examples.

9. Dennis 1848, 434.

10. Dennis 1848, 438.

11. Hildburgh 1946, 157.

12. E.g., Hildburgh 1946, 1947; also Kunisch 1990, 219, for other references.

13. Raubitschek 1972. Dennis 1848, 438–39, had likewise mentioned ships’ eyes. Possible apotropaic function of ships’ eyes: Nowak 2006, 116–70; Carlson 2009, 357–59.

14. Boardman 1976, 288. Black-figure cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter (“Bomford cup”), Oxford 1974.344: *BAPD* 396; Boardman 1976; Hedreen 2007, 230, fig. 4.13; Yatromanolakis 2009b; Coccagna 2009, 105–42 (on this and other phallus-footed cups).

15. E.g., Boardman 1996, 274, fig. 278; Neer 2002, 41, fig. 11; Coccagna 2009, figs. 72–73; Osborne 2014, 37; Grethlein 2015, 102–5; Moignard 2015, 119. Boardman’s exact statement appears in, e.g., Ferrari 1986, 1127; Neer 2002, 41; Hedreen 2007, 230; 2016a, 209.

16. Ferrari 1986, 11. Bell 1977 had also speculated on a connection to early theater.
17. Kunisch 1990. Steinhart (1995, 61–62) also discusses the “feminine” eyes as belonging to nymphs, while Frontisi-Ducroux (1995, 101) compares the “noses” on eye cups to the snub noses of satyrs and silens. Villanueva Puig (2004, 13) argues that the eyes belong to panthers—i.e., Dionysian felines.
18. In a variation on this theme, Hedreen 2016a, 207–9, interprets the “faces” on two bilingual eye cups as “self-portraits” of Psiax; each features an inscription saying “Psiax” above the nose but neither is accompanied by *epoiesen* or *egraphsen*. I do not dispute the possibility of a joke here; however, the cup in the Metropolitan Museum (New York 14.146.2: *ARV*² 9.1, 41.38; *BAPD* 200038) measures 31.5 cm in diameter, and the one in Munich (2603: *ARV*² 9.2, 41.39; *BAPD* 200040) measures 32.1 cm; both are oversized, and both were exported to Etruria (the Metropolitan cup was found at Bolsena, the Munich cup at Vulci). The joke may have been meant more for workshop members or traders than potential Athenian symposiasts (cf. chapter 2).
19. Neer 2002, 42. Dionysian alterity and the eye motif: see also Frontisi-Ducroux 1989; Lissarrague 1990a, 140–43; Isler-Kerényi 2007, 171–93, 202–7. Yatromanolakis 2009b takes an approach similar to Neer’s in investigating the Bomford cup specifically; so too Coccagna 2009.
20. E.g., Mitchell 2009, 36–46, although focusing primarily on the decorative aspects; and cf. Carpenter 1986, 97.
21. Cf. R. Fowler 2000, 321, 331–32; Kindt 2012, 90–122. Oakley 1994, 23, refers to apotropaic interpretations as “older school”; cf. Villanueva Puig 2004, 9. Eisman 1972 suggests that eyes are “a decorative fad” and that “no particular symbolic interpretation is warranted.”
22. “Nose” between eyes: Jordan 1988, 9, cat. C1 (the Exekias cup); pp. 13–14, cat. C2–16; pp. 31–32, cat. C24–41. “Chalcidizing” eye cups, defined by their distinctive foot: Jordan 1988, 319–31, with lists at 320, cat. C264–65; pp. 321–23, cat. W157–78; p. 329, cat. B125–29. The majority of these were exported to Etruria.
23. Houston, Ménil Collection 70–50-DJ: *BAPD* 477; Tosto 1999, 230, cat. 156, fig. 85; Hedreen 2007, 229, fig. 4.12. Tampa 86.51 (ex Noble), from Vulci: *Paralipomena* 93; *BAPD* 350999; Bundrick 2015, 298, fig. 3. Beth Cohen (2006, 37) prefers the term “trefoil” to “nose” for some examples.
24. Frontal faces of Dionysos on the exterior: Bell 1977 (Krokotos Group). Silen’s face: so-called Bomford cup, see above. Black-figure eye cup with frontal face of Medusa on the exterior, e.g., Louvre Cp10346 (ex Campana, likely from Caere given its inventory number): *BAPD* 12221.
25. Munich 2088: *ABV* 232; *BAPD* 301250; Fellmann 2004, 98–99.
26. Harvard 1925.30.19, purchased in Athens by Joseph Clark Hoppin in 1896 but without known provenience: *BAPD* 13318; *CVA* Hoppin and Gallatin Collections 5, pl. 4.6.
27. N. 15 above. Bilingual cup by Oltos, from Vulci, Oxford V515: *ARV*² 44.85, 56.27, 1599.3; *BAPD* 200292.
28. Fellmann 2004, 14. As Clark 2009, 96, notes, this and similar measurements are “deceptive” because they represent the cups when filled to the rim. When filled to the level of the handle attachments (about 50 percent capacity), Munich 8729/2044 would hold approximately 1.17 liters (Clark 2009, 98, table 3).
29. Munich 2080, from Vulci (ex Candelori): *ABV* 256.22; *BAPD* 302231; Fellmann 2004, 30–32. Cup from Foiano della Chiana, Florence 74624 (on long-term loan to the Museo dell’Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona): *ABV* 262.46, 667; *BAPD* 302278; Giulierini 1999–2001, 71–73, figs. 8–11; Fortunelli 2005, 248, cat. VI.112; Bundrick 2014b, 12–14, figs. 1–4. I thank Mario Iozzo for providing the cup’s diameter measurement.
30. Cf. Osborne 2007b, 35–37, on drinking difficulties. Neer 2002, 41, speaking of Palermo V650: *ABV* 253.4, 255.7, 256.21; *ARV*² 5.14, 37.1, 1617; *BAPD* 200014.

31. Cf. Martens 1992, 357. Jordan 1988, 332–43, discusses eyes on other shapes.
32. Amphora, Tarquinia RC2800: *BAPD* 14106. Hydria, London B342 (ex Canino): *ABV* 335.8; *BAPD* 301821; Bundrick 2015, 300, fig. 5.
33. Vatican 39558: Buranelli 1997, 145–47, cat. 52.
34. Boston 10.651: *ABV* 157.86; *BAPD* 310515, provenience unknown but purchased in Italy by Edward Perry Warren.
35. Hannover 1961.23 (ex Basel market): *ARV*² 122.7, 1627; *BAPD* 201948; Tosto 1999, 221, cat. 80, pl. 128. Melbourne D392/1980 (ex Depoletti): *ABV* 221.40; *BAPD* 302789; Tosto 1999, 221, cat. 77.
36. Bundrick 2015, 304n70, for list of examples and further references.
37. Bundrick 2015, 301, table 1, p. 306, table 2.
38. Reusser 2002, 2:72–74 (Belvedere at Orvieto), 83–84 (Ara della Regina), with further references. Gravisca: Iacobazzi 2004, 233–48 (black-figure), with an additional few fragments in Fiorini and Fortunelli 2009, 306–7, 315, fig. 6; Huber 1999, 28–29, cat. 4–11 (likely bilingual). Campo della Fiera sanctuary: Bizzarri 2012, 81–82, 93–94 (cat. 9–11), figs. 10–12. Attic black-figure eye cup fragments have likewise been discovered in the sixth-century levels of the sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii (thought to have been under Etruscan influence, if not control, at that time) and the Sant’Omobono sanctuary in Rome (certainly under Etruscan control), as mentioned in Reusser 2002, 2:93–100. One of the Sant’Omobono eye cups is currently displayed in the Musei Capitolini, inv. 17418 (unattributed): *BAPD* 3732.
39. Reusser 2002, 2:53–55, with further references. For fragmentary eye cups from a house in Marzabotto, see Brizzolara and Baldoni 2010a, 19, cat. 6, p. 22, cat. 19.
40. Formerly in a private collection: Connor 1996, with repair discussed 367–68. Bronze repair suggesting Athens: cf. Rotroff 2011.
41. See list of Chalcidian eye cups in Rumpf 1927, 35–39. Iozzo 1994 divides vessels by findspot: see 177–84 for Chalcidian vases found at Caere and 189–93 for Vulci.
42. Tosto 1999, 144; cf. Jordan 1988, 326–28 (more cautious about invention by the Nikosthenic workshop but acknowledging a likely economic reason for Attic workshops creating their own versions).
43. Among Chalcidizing cups with the nose-and-eyes scheme and known provenience, only one has a known Greek findspot (from Brauron), Athens, National Archaeological Museum: *Paralipomena* 93; *BAPD* 351001.
44. Etruscan black-figure painters during the late sixth and early fifth centuries privileged chalices, kyathoi, and kantharoi, the “local” forms of drinking vessels, rather than kylikes: Paleothodoros 2010, 4; 2011, 49–50.
45. Micali Painter: e.g., Scheffer 1979; Spivey and Rasmussen 1986; Spivey 1987, 1988; Rizzo 1988; Strandberg Olofsson 1996. Ivy Painter and Ivy Leaf Group: Drukker 1986; Werner 2005.
46. Rizzo 1988, 85, notes that of the 86 total vases attributed to the Micali Painter at that time with known provenience, 56 came from the necropolis at Vulci. See also Spivey 1987, 72–76.
47. Amphora, Villa Giulia 131331–131312: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 226–27, pl. XV. Assemblage: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 220–35; Reusser 2003, 172–74; Paleothodoros 2009, 48–51.
48. Tarquinia RC6884: Ghirardini 1882, 212–14; Palmieri 2011, 92–93.
49. Formerly Munich 861 (destroyed in World War II), three fragments surviving per Spivey 1987, 20, cat. 117. One published image remains: Sieveking and Hackl 1912, pl. 36, and p. 113, cat. 861.
50. London 86.4–1.828.

51. Old Smyrna: Tuna-Nörling 1995, 27–29, cat. 109–19 (with cat. 113–19 belonging to the Leafless Group).

52. E.g., from the acropolis at Xanthos, all black-figure cups by the Leafless Group: *BAPD* 15366, 15367, 15368, 306937, 306938, 306940, 306941, and 306942 (with references). Sardis: Manisa, Archaeological Museum P58.559.381, *BAPD* 29257; Schaeffer, Ramage, and Greenewalt 1997, 85, cat. Att 68, pl. 36.68; Manisa, Archaeological Museum P96.53.10358, *BAPD* 29258; Schaeffer, Ramage, and Greenewalt 1997, 85–86, cat. Att 69, pl. 36.69; both from the acropolis.

53. Bilingual eye cup by Oltos, London 1900.2–14.3: *ARV*² 43.69; *BAPD* 200275.

54. Tuna-Nörling 1995, 146, fig. 31, counts 122 pieces (47.1 percent of her total) of Leafless Group–attributed ware (eye cups and otherwise) going to East Greece, 26 pieces going to Etruria (10.0 percent), and 43 staying in Athens (16.6 percent). Cf. Scheffer 1988.

55. Cf. Bndrick 2015, 301, table 1.

56. Lynch 2011, 121–23, 219, cat. 75, fig. 76 (= Agora P32786). Agora P32785 (Lynch 2011, cat. 73, fig. 74) may be a nonjoining fragment from the same cup, in which case the eye cup’s approximate diameter can be estimated at 25 cm, and it had Dionysian decoration.

57. For other black-figure examples in the Agora collection, see Moore and Philippides 1986. Type A or sub-A: P6079 (Moore and Philippides 1986, 306–7, cat. 1753); P13039 (307, cat. 1754); P13747 (307, cat. 1755); P5230 (307, cat. 1756). Stemless: P3437 (Moore and Philippides 1986, 310, cat. 1781); P5894 (310, cat. 1782); P1152 (310, cat. 1783); P1153 (310, cat. 1784).

58. Agora P9414: Moore 1997, 316, cat. 1400, pl. 129.

59. Agora P1152 and 1153: see n. 57 above.

60. Cf. Lynch 2011.

61. List in Bndrick 2015, 302n44.

62. For the problem of the different deposits, see, e.g., Stewart 2008; Pala 2012, 39–55.

63. As noted in Stewart 2008, 401: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.2046 (*ABV* 635.43; *BAPD* 331811); no. 1.2047 (*ABV* 635.45; *BAPD* 331813); no. 1.2048 (*ABV* 635.45; *BAPD* 331812), all dating ca. 500–490.

64. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.1538: *BAPD* 32440; Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, 1: pl. 81.1538a–e.

65. Artemision at Thasos: cup fragment, Thasos Archaeological Museum 59.824 (*BAPD* 8994); fragmentary cup, Thasos Archaeological Museum 59.1213, 59.1041, 59.1490, 59.840, 59.1004, 59.790 (*BAPD* 8995); cup fragment, Thasos Archaeological Museum, no inv. no. (*BAPD* 8890). Cyrene: cup fragments with nose and eyes, Cyrene Museum 277.6: *BAPD* 28673. Aegina: cup fragment, Aegina Archaeological Museum UF17: *BAPD* 15929. Samos: cup fragments, Vathy Mus. K1463 (*BAPD* 23547); cup fragment, Vathy Museum K970 (*BAPD* 23554); cup fragment, Vathy Mus. K924 (now lost) (*BAPD* 23557). Olympia: cup fragments with winged woman between eyes, Olympia Museum K11046A–B (*BAPD* 23159; Burow, Heiden, and Kunze-Götte 2000, 222, cat. 52, pl. 72.52); cup fragments with satyr, Olympia Museum K11133A–F (*BAPD* 23160; Burow, Heiden, and Kunze-Götte 2000, 222, cat. 53, pl. 72.53).

66. From the Argive Heraion and probably from an eye cup, Athens, National Museum, attributed to Epiktetos: *ARV*² 71.5; *BAPD* 200458; Paleothodoros 2004a, 145, cat. 10.

67. Cf. the 1993 reconstruction by G. Colonna and G. Foglia as displayed in the Villa Giulia; the akroterial bases are discussed in Michetti 2011 (noting a specific resemblance with Attic eye cups at 103). Antefixes: Izzet 2001, 193–94.

68. Izzet 2001, 193. Cf. Marconi 2007, 9–14, 28, 214–22, on gorgoneia and other monsters in Greek temple decoration.

69. Ciuccarelli 2006. Cf. the possible depiction of Achlae in the Tomb of the Bulls, chapter 3.

70. Boitani 1983, 551 (with full discussion of the burial assemblage at 545–56); cf. Camporeale 2005, 292.

71. Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 171–72, pl. 9; Riva 2010b, 59, 169.

72. Camporeale 2005, 291, fig. 5, p. 292, with further references.

73. Warden 2004, 54–55; van Kampen 2009, 2016.

74. Amasis Painter's cup: n. 34 above. See Holloway 1986 for *apotropaia* in the Tomb of the Bulls and elsewhere; Steingraber 1986, pl. 156 for the phallus in the Tomb of the Little Mouse; Torelli 1997, 67, fig. 9, for the defecating man in the Tomb of the Jugglers; and Brandt 2014a, 127–36, for such scenes generally, arguing for the importance of laughter. Cf. also Lewis 1997, 151–53.

75. Bundrick 2015. See chapter 6 for eye cups at Bisenzio and Foiano della Chiana.

76. Bundrick 2015, 301, table 1.

77. Fig. 2.6 = Louvre F122, chapter 2, n. 64, above. Bilingual, also signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen*, diam. 31 cm, Louvre F125: *ARV*² 41.26, 161.1; *BAPD* 200234.

78. Krokotos Group/Group of Walters 48.42: see Ure 1955 (noting the Group's preference for the Italian market at 102n80); E. Bell 1977; Jordan 1988, 64–78. Jordan (1988, 70, 97) speculates on possible connections to the Nikosthenic workshop.

79. Σ O marked a third black-figure eye cup, which lacks a known findspot but whose collecting history suggests Etruria, Haverford College EA-1989-3: Ashmead 1999, 9–11 (fig. 8 for inscription); Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A68a.

80. Munich 2030: *BAPD* 7008; Fellmann 2004, 32–34, pl. 12; Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A66.

81. Munich 2078: *BAPD* 9031573; Fellmann 2004, 94–96, pl. 61 (pl. 62.1 for graffiti); Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A67.

82. E.g., a cup without eyes from Marathon with this subject and dedication inscription, Marathon, Museum K555: *BAPD* 9029829.

83. Munich M1214 (once Erlangen): *ARV*² 42.46; *BAPD* 200252; Johnston 2006, 110, cat. 9D18; Böhr 2015, 18–19, pl. 3. Inscription: Böhr 2015, 19, fig. 2, pl. 83.2.

84. Böhr 2015, 18; cf. Cohen 1978, 357, cat. B62bis.

85. Advocated in Böhr 2015, 19, with the rho faintly visible in pl. 83.2. Only the A is noted in Hackl 1909, 24, cat. 103, and in Johnston. The cup was presumably recently cleaned for its *CVA* presentation. An unligatured and retrograde version of 9E is unusual, judging from Johnston's lists.

86. Johnston 1979, 212. For trader 9E, see also chapter 2 above and chapter 7 below.

87. Cohen 1978, 304–6.

88. Cf. the hypothesis of Paleothodoros 2007a that the lucrative export market encouraged the development of red figure. See below, chapter 7.

89. Cf. Scheffer 1988, 540. Also compare the small number of black-figure eye cups attributed to this workshop and sent to south Italian and Sicilian sites, where they have been found in graves.

90. Louvre G81: *ARV*² 51.204, 356.56; *BAPD* 200414. Late Archaic Class of Eye Cups: *ARV*² 51.203–18 (= *BAPD* 200413–200428); D. Williams 1988.

91. Athenian Akropolis, attributed to the Colmar Painter, Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection 2.244: *ARV*² 51.207, 356.57; *BAPD* 200417. Spina: cup by the Antiphon Painter, Ferrara T41D VP: *ARV*²

51.210, 337.30bis; *BAPD* 200420; cup by the Colmar Painter, Ferrara 42683 (T30D VP): *ARV*² 51.206, 356.56ter; *BAPD* 200416. Williams recognized that a fragment that Beazley listed separately from the latter actually joins it: location unknown (ex Italian market), *ARV*² 51.205, 356.56bis; *BAPD* 200415. Both Spina cups come from the Valle Pega necropolis.

92. D. Williams 1988, 679, 683; accepted in Osborne 1996, 32.

93. Villard 2006. Louvre Cp10896, 11266, 11267, 11268, 11269, 11270, 12341, 12347 (= *BAPD* 200419, 200423–200427, 1035).

94. Other eye cups discovered at Vulci are more difficult to discuss because of the dispersal of their assemblages; see Bundrick 2015, 314n145 for list.

95. Finds from the Radicetti/1973 Tomb are catalogued in Rizzo 1988, 78–79; 1990, 100–103. See Bundrick 2015, 314n146, for summary. Attic eye cup inv. 76107 measures 36 cm in diameter, is attributed to the Bowdoin Painter, and has athletes on the exterior and interior: *BAPD* 41908; Rizzo 1990, 100–101, cat. 2, figs. 182, 184. Attic eye cup inv. 76108 measures 32 cm in diameter and may be from the same workshop; it has a satyr in the tondo and trefoils or “noses” on the exterior: *BAPD* 41907; Rizzo 1990, 101, cat. 3, figs. 183, 185.

96. See Gsell 1891, 178, fig. 55, for a rudimentary plan.

97. Cf. van Kampen 2009, 145–49.

98. Gsell 1891, 178–84. For Chamber B, see chapter 7 below.

99. Beazley in his catalogues only cites Gsell 1891 for vases illustrated there, so identifications of others listed by Gsell but not illustrated must come from other sources. Gsell mentions two small black-figure amphorae that from their descriptions must be Attic, but they were in bad condition at that time and have not been identified (Gsell 1891, 181, nos. 3–4). One featured an athletic scene on one side and a possible sacrifice scene on the other; the second showed Apollo and Hermes on one side and two chariots on the opposite one.

100. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 24874.1: *ABV* 367.92; *BAPD* 302087; Gsell 1891, 179–80, no. 1, pls. X–XII.

101. For which see Banducci 2014.

102. Tomb of the Olympic Games: see chapter 3, n. 156, and Banducci 2014, 11, fig. 8. Tomb of the Casuccini Hill: Steingraber 1986, 266–68, cat. 15, pls. 189–90; Banducci 2014, 16, fig. 15.

103. Boston 01.8057, acquired by Edward Perry Warren from Prince Torlonia: *ABV* 206.5; *BAPD* 302638; Gsell 1891, 181–82, no. 6; Bell 1977, pl. 10, fig. 1.

104. Chicago, Smart Museum 1967.115.337 (Tarbell Collection—Edward Perry Warren gave Tarbell this and other vases in 1902): *ABV* 632.1; *BAPD* 331772; Gsell 1891, 182, no. 7; Johnson 1943, 398–99, cat. 15.

105. Gsell 1891, 182–83, no. 8.

106. *ABV* 210.5 (where provenience is given as Vulci but with no reference to Gsell); *BAPD* 302675; identification with Tomb LXXIX first made in Bundrick 2015, 316.

107. Buranelli 1994, 43–46, especially plan on 44, fig. 3.

108. Brief descriptions can be found in Buranelli 1994, 45–46; Riccioni 2003, 1. Some of Ferraguti’s photographs with contents in situ are published in Buranelli 1994, pls. 75–77. Bronzes: Ferraguti 1937, 116–19, figs. 8–10; Torelli 2000, 560–61, cat. 61–66.

109. Cf. Hannestad 1989, 116–17; Reusser 2004, especially 150–51.

110. Villa Giulia 63558: *BAPD* 9004348; Riccioni 2003, 2–3, cat. 3, figs. 6–10.

111. Villa Giulia 63572: *BAPD* 9004347; Riccioni 2003, 2, cat. 2, figs. 4–5.

112. Villa Giulia 63556, diam. 18.2 cm: *BAPD* 9004349; Riccioni 2003, 3–4, cat. 4, figs. 11–13. Villa Giulia 63557, diam. 18.7 cm: *BAPD* 9004350; Riccioni 2003, 4, cat. 5, figs. 14–16.

113. Possible sacrificial subtext to animal combats in Etruscan funerary art: e.g., Warden 2009, 211.

114. Villa Giulia 63573 (found with its lid, Villa Giulia 63574): *BAPD* 5564; Riccioni 2003, 1–2, cat. 1, figs. 1–3.

115. Etruscan athletics: e.g., Thuillier 1985, 2013; Bevagna 2014. Panathenaic prize amphorae in Etruria: e.g., Bentz 1998, 95–97, 111–13; Rystedt 2006; and see chapter 7 below.

116. Boxing: Thuillier 1985, 181–268; 2013, 834–35; Bevagna 2014, 401; Neils and Steiner 2018.

117. Cf. Thuillier 2013, 834. Cardarelli Tomb: Steingraber 1986, 296–97, cat. 53.

118. E.g., De Puma 1986; de Grummond 2006, 192–93, 194, fig. VIII.23.

119. Cf. Neils and Steiner 2018, speculating that the boxers on an imported Attic kylix from a sanctuary of Uni at Poggio Colla may have been read as Pultuce and his opponent, here in a cultic context.

120. Menerva/Athena in Etruria: e.g., Colonna 1984; Jannot 2005, 147–49; de Grummond 2006, 71–78; all with further references.

121. See Riccioni 2003, 4, for brief description of the tomb; 4–8, cat. 6–10, figs. 17–32, for the Attic vases.

122. Villa Giulia 63612: *BAPD* 9004351; Riccioni 2003, 4–5, cat. 6, figs. 17–19. Cf. hydriai in the Tomb of the Kottabos (below in this chapter) and other Vulcian tombs (chapter 5). Even in Greece, the multivalence of hydriai in terms of both function and use by gender is becoming more accepted: e.g., Trinkl 2009; Sowder Koch 2015.

123. Villa Giulia 63614: *BAPD* 3; Hayashi 1992, 130, cat. 14; Riccioni 2003, 5, cat. 7, figs. 20–21; Pierre 2008, 123, cat. AT2.

124. See Bundrick 2015, 320n191, for other black-figure examples from Vulci. Contra Shipley 2016b, 243.

125. See chapter 3 above.

126. Villa Giulia 63613: *BAPD* 5563; Riccioni 2003, 5–8, cat. 8, figs. 22–29; Bundrick 2015, 319, figs. 9–10.

127. Vatican 456: *ABV* 235; *BAPD* 301270.

128. Theseus: Riccioni 2003, 7. Iolaos: *LIMC* 5 (1990), 687, s.v. Iolaos, no. 2 (M. Pipili).

129. Tarquinia 170/11, with a cock between the eyes on both sides: Chiaramonte Treré 1987, 87, pl. 31.4; Bonghi Jovino 2001, 404. Stoop 1979, while not discussing this cup, suggests that vessels placed upside down in sacred contexts were chthonic offerings. Warden 2011, 58–59, discusses systematic breakage and overturning of objects at Etruscan ritual sites.

130. Description (including plan) and catalogue: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 220–21, 230–39. See also Reusser 2003, 172–74; Paleothodoros 2009, 48–51.

131. Ambrosini (2013, 26) agrees with this identification of the object and discusses *kottaboi* in Etruria at 24–30.

132. Villa Giulia 131420: *BAPD* 9023388; Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 233–34, cat. III.B.7.5; Bundrick 2015, 321, figs. 11–12.

133. Likewise observed in Paleothodoros 2009, 50–51.

134. Other red-figure cup, Villa Giulia 131421: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 234, cat. III.B.7.6. Leagros Group amphora, Villa Giulia 131423: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 230–31, cat. III.B.7.2.

135. Villa Giulia 131424, 131425: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 232–33, cat. III.B.7.3–4. Inv. 131424 has Dionysos and a maenad on one side, two soldiers on the other. Inv. 131425 depicts a maenad and a satyr on one side, a maenad and a komast (?) on the other.

136. These interpretations are often presented as “either/or”: Spivey (1988, 16–17) talks about the satyrs on the Micali Painter’s vases as liminal, transitional creatures and attributes to them an eschatological dimension, while Strandberg Olofsson (1996) associates them with celebration. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. Liminality of satyrs in temple decoration: Izzet 2001, 193–94.

137. Holloway 1986, 448–49.

138. Odysseus and Polyphemos: e.g., Buitron and Cohen 1992, 31–73.

139. Munich 2148: *BAPD* 31944. Cambridge GR45.1864/G67: *BAPD* 3706.

140. Pania pyxis: chapter 3, n. 56, above. Uthuze/Odysseus in Etruscan art: chapter 1, n. 88, above.

141. Cf. Cohen 2006, 204.

142. E.g., Torelli 2002, 50–53.

143. Villa Giulia 131422: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 230, cat. III.B.7.1.

144. E.g., Boardman 1975, 6–10; cf. Shapiro 1989a, 76.

145. Villa Giulia 131423: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 230–31, cat. III.B.7.2.

146. Cf. black-figure lekythoi that depict Hermes leading Kerberos but without Herakles present: e.g., Louvre CA3778, *BAPD* 44861.

147. Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 230, with fig.; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E12a.

148. Johnston 2006, 129. Beazley describes the A D Painter as being near the Priam Painter’s late work. Note that although Johnston does not list a provenience for Boulogne 406 (his cat. 13E7), it comes from Vulci.

149. One of the fountainhouse hydriai with 13E mark, Villa Giulia 131390, comes from the Tomb of the Necklace (see chapter 5 below). This vase is listed in the museum index of Johnston 2006 as cat. 13E21c but is omitted from the listings on 129.

150. Moon 1983b discusses the penchant of the Priam Painter for Herakles and fountainhouse imagery and the popularity of these scenes in Etruria, noting that “the workshop owner and the various merchandizers must have known better the changing tastes of whatever market” (114). Moon does not discuss trademarks, which support his points. Conversely, Johnston notes the association between trader 13E and the Priam Painter (1979, 46), but does not consider iconography, which boosts his points as well.

151. Paleothodoros 2011, especially 40 (noting that Etruscan and Attic vases frequently appear together in Vulcian *tombe a cassone*), 66–71.

152. Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 221–29.

153. Paleothodoros 2009, 50–51. One of the amphorae shows Dionysos reclining with a woman (Ariadne?) at a symposion and thus evokes marital couples at Etruscan banquets.

154. Villa Giulia 131319: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 224, cat. III.B.6.4; Paleothodoros 2009, 50. The other oinochoe in the tomb shows a war scene, while two kyathoi likewise have “male” iconography.

155. Hannestad 1989, 117. An exception is a small (19 cm) Attic black-glazed kylix of Type C found in the Tomb of the Necklace, which belonged to a young woman: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 247, cat. III.B.8.12; and see chapter 5 below.

156. An exception is the woman holding a kylix in a banqueting scene from the fourth-century Golini Tomb II at Orvieto; chapter 3, n. 223, above.

157. Munich 2054: Fellmann 2004, 65–66, with further references for the inscription.

158. Connor 1996, especially 368–69. I thank Rex Wallace for confirming that these are masculine family names.

159. Cf. Tsingarida 2009c, 2011, and forthcoming; and see chapters 1 and 3 above.

160. These figures update Bundrick 2015, 323, thanks to Böhr 2015.

161. Radicetti/1973 Tomb cup: above, n. 95. The others are: Berlin F2048 (*ABV* 262.48; *BAPD* 302280); Berlin F2049 (*ABV* 390; *BAPD* 302909); Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 335 (*ARV*² 44.89, 67.8, 112.1; *BAPD* 200296); Compiègne 1105 (*ARV*² 41.24, 161.2; *BAPD* 200232); Munich 2080 (*ABV* 256.22; *BAPD* 302231); Rouen 450B (*ABV* 231.12; *BAPD* 301243).

162. Tsingarida, forthcoming, suggests as much for any cups larger than 35 cm; cf. Tsingarida 2009c. Heroization of the deceased and ancestors: see chapter 3 above.

163. Cf. Olto cup with inscription to the Dioskouroi, which measures 52 cm, and Aita and Phersipnei feasting with the deceased in Golini Tomb I at Orvieto: chapter 3 above. Tsingarida (2009c, 2011, and forthcoming) links oversized cups with the Greek ritual of the Theoxenia, in which mortals entertained divine figures (heroes and gods).

164. The total percentage rises slightly if one factors in komasts/symposiasts and what seem to be maenads without Dionysos and/or a satyr present elsewhere on the vase. I have not included these, since it is not always clear whether a female figure is a maenad or a nymph, nor is a komast always easily distinguished.

165. In the corpus of 158 eye cups from Vulci, 13 have a recognizable male mythological hero represented at least once (8 percent). All are Herakles, apart from one depiction each of Theseus, Odysseus, and Aineias. However, 37 cups have an unidentified soldier/warrior represented at least once (23 percent, including hoplites, horsemen, and figures in chariots), some of whom may have been understood as mythological heroes.

166. Hannestad 1989, 125, provides a tabulation of shapes of black-figure vases from Vulci based on the Beazley catalogues and lists one krater among 962 pots. She counts four red-figure kraters from Vulci in Beazley (out of 493 vessels): p. 127.

167. Spivey 2007, 241, notes that no metal kraters have been found in Etruria, despite what seem to be metal kraters in Tarquinian tomb paintings.

168. Cf. Osborne 2007c, 87, on imports to southern France: “In the absence of kraters, some sign is needed that large open vessels of some other kind were available for the mixing of wine before one leaps from the presence of drinking vessels to the presence of the symposium.” Hydriai used as mixing bowls: e.g., Reusser 2003, 173; 2004, 151; Paleothodoros 2007a, 169.

169. Shapiro 2000, with brief discussion of this vase (without mentioning the eye cup) at 330–31.

170. Sotheby and Wilkinson 1859, 13, cat. 182, noted in the *CVA* entry.

171. Surviving vases attributed to Exekias with trademarks are almost nonexistent (on which see Johnston 1979, 44); an exception seems to be an amphora from Orvieto (Orvieto, Museo Etrusco Claudio Faina 2745: *ABV* 145.11, 686; *BAPD* 310393; Mackay 2010, 183–200, cat. 17), which may carry a version of type 33A as a red dipinto (Mackay 2010, 183). Many Group E amphorae exported to Vulci and Tarquinia have them, however; Johnston’s types 25A, 1E, and 2E, for example, are nearly exclusive to Group E and may suggest exclusive trading relationships (lists: Johnston 2006, 60, 112).

172. Fellmann 2004, 15. Modern restorations obscure much of the repair.

173. Paleothodoros (2011, 47) likewise believes this to be an Attic eye cup.

174. E.g., by Isler-Kerényi 2007, 180–87; Mackay 2010, 237–39; Moignard 2015, 118–19.

175. Villa Giulia (ex Toledo Museum of Art), attributed to the Painter of Vatican 238: Spivey and Rasmussen 1986; Paleothodoros 2012b, 459–60.

176. Bonaparte 1829b, 180. Amphora, Munich 1401: *ABV* 297.11; *BAPD* 320390; Bonaparte 1829b, 163–72, cat. 1887. Bonaparte's catalogues otherwise give no information about objects found together.

CHAPTER 5. THE MASTERY OF WATER

1. London E2 (ex Canino): *ABV* 390; *ARV*² 225.1, 1636; *BAPD* 202287; Bonaparte 1829a, 89, cat. 792; Lissarrague 1990a, 113–14; Cohen 2006, 41–42, cat. 6.

2. Cohen 2006, 42.

3. E.g., Slater 1976; M. Davies 1978; Lissarrague 1990a, 107–22; Beaulieu 2015, 167–87.

4. For which see, e.g., D'Agostino 1999; D. Steiner 2004, 179–85, 215–25; Pizzirani 2005, 2014; Lubtchansky 2008. Water imagery in Etruscan art: Gilotta 2003.

5. Tarquinia 678 (ex Bruschi-Falgari): *BAPD* 64; Ridi 2012.

6. Sittl 1885; Steingraber 1986, 293–94, cat. 50.

7. E.g., D'Agostino and Cerchiai 1999, 61–71; Steingraber 2006, 96; Pizzirani 2014, 73–74.

8. Ahlberg-Cornell 1984.

9. See generally Pipili 1992; Icard-Gianolio 1997.

10. Toledo 1956.69 (ex Durand): *ABV* 263.2 (Painter of Vatican G43); *BAPD* 302296; De Witte 1836, 100–101, cat. 302; Pevnick 2014, 124, cat. 10.

11. Summary in Wescoat 2012, 160–64, with references.

12. Acropolis Museum inv. nos. 2 and 36; Icard-Gianolio 1997, cat. 16–17.

13. A reconstruction proposed in Schuchhardt 1935–36, 72, fig. 8, and advocated in, e.g., Paga 2012, 87–88. Scholars are split between a location for this temple on the south side of the hill (beneath the present Parthenon, advocated by Manolis Korres) and the north side (beneath the present Erechtheion, argued in, e.g., Paga 2012, 57–86, with earlier references).

14. Boardman 1972, 59–60.

15. Glynn 1981, 130–31.

16. Cf. Paga 2012, 91.

17. Cf. Paga 2012, 88–89.

18. E.g., fragmentary black-figure hydria, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.738; Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, 1:91, cat. 738, pl. 47.

19. Shapiro 1990, 122–26, summarizes the appearance of new Heraklean scenes in the period from ca. 570 to 550, although without reference to the burgeoning export market. Kim 2018 highlights the iconographic innovation of the Heraklean Amazonomachy on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

20. Bonn 38: *BAPD* 15371; Johnston 2006, 56, cat. 21A11.

21. Hydria attributed to the Chiusi Painter (said to be from Vulci), Boston 62.1185: *Paralipomena* 171; *BAPD* 351265; Johnston 2006, 117, cat. 8E9a. Hydria attributed to the Priam Painter (provenience unknown), Louvre F286: *ABV* 333.28; *BAPD* 301806; Johnston 2006, 117, cat. 8E36 (also carries mark 13E).

22. Amphora, Toronto 299/919.5.19, from Tarquinia: *BAPD* 6001; Johnston 2006, 119, cat. 9E11a. Hydria attributed to the Nikesippos Group, Louvre F298, from Vulci: *ABV* 264.1; *BAPD* 302299; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E30.

23. Hydria from Vulci (ex Canino), London B312: *BAPD* 6493; Johnston 2006, 54, cat. 20A26. Amphora attributed to the Diosphos Painter, Louvre F234: *BAPD* 2693; Johnston 2006, 55, cat. 20A88. Amphora

attributed to the Eye-Siren Group, from Vulci, Würzburg 189: *ABV* 286.5; *BAPD* 320292; Johnston 2006, 54, cat. 20A39.

24. Cf. *Traficante* 2006.

25. Etruscan Tritons/mermen: Camporeale 1975, 1997; Boosen 1986, 65–133; *Traficante* 2012.

26. Tarquinia RC9808, RC8661: Camporeale 1997, 87, cat. 44–45.

27. Tomb of the Tritons (Tomb 2711): Steingraber 1986, 353, cat. 122; Camporeale 1997, 86, cat. 13. Stefani Tomb: Steingraber 1986, 344, cat. 112; Camporeale 1997, 86, cat. 15.

28. Steingraber 1986, 323, cat. 86; Camporeale 1997, 86, cat. 14.

29. See chapter 4, n. 175, above.

30. Boston 01.8062 (“close to” the Micali Painter), originally purchased in Rome by Edward Perry Warren: Camporeale 1997, 88–89, cat. 88.

31. Of the 105 Etruscan black-figure hydriai tabulated in Paleothodoros 2011 (47, table 3), 82 are linked to the Micali Group or their “Followers.” Most are unprovenienced, but the Micali workshop’s products seem to have been geared toward Vulci and environs, and primarily for funerary deposition.

32. Louvre CA2515 (Painter of Vatican 238): *Traficante* 2006, 80, fig. 5.

33. E.g., cup attributed to the Briseis Painter, New York 53.11.4: *ARV*² 406.7; *BAPD* 204406; Mommsen 2014, 56, fig. 2.

34. Mommsen 2014, 55, 62.

35. Mommsen 2014, 55.

36. Tarquinia RC4194, attributed by Beazley to the Xenokles Group (but not included in *ABV*): *BAPD* 397; Pierro 1984, 122–25, cat. 11.

37. Beazley 1932, 168.

38. Heesen 2009b. Heesen (2009a, 247, chart 43) reports that of his database corpus at that time, 476 Little Master lip cups were found in central Italy (476 of 1,052, 45.2 percent), as opposed to 123 in Greece (mainland and islands). Heesen (2009b, 119) states that of the 24 LIOs with known provenience, 19 come from central Italy (with two more from an unknown region in Italy). Heesen (2009a, 16n107) mentions and lists 47 total known LIOs, including the Tarquinia piece.

39. Cf. Heesen 2009a, 253. Tarquinia RC4194 is the largest-diameter lip cup in Heesen’s corpus; only three other lip cups from funerary contexts (in Etruria or elsewhere, a total of 464) are larger than 30 cm in diameter (2009a, 252).

40. Helbig 1881a, 41–43. A lengthy description of the cup by excavator Luigi Dasti is given in Fiorelli 1880.

41. Heesen (2009b, 119) notes that 65.2 percent of all Little Master cups with known provenience and *chaire* drinking inscriptions were found in central Italy. He speculates about whether these and similar inscriptions, and artists’ signatures besides, were intended to satisfy an Etruscan desire for inscribed vessels. Cf. Bolmarcich and Muskett 2017.

42. Helbig 1881a, 43.

43. See references in Bundrick 2017, 70.

44. Bundrick 2017. Exekias amphora: chapter 1, n. 8, above.

45. London B329 (ex Canino): *ABV* 334.1, 678; *BAPD* 301814 (with many references); Bonaparte 1829a, 114, cat. 1387; 1829b, 124, cat. 1387; Hedreen 2016b, 61, fig. 4.

46. Bonaparte 1829b, 124.

47. Recent catalogues in Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 59–70 (including other shapes as well); Pilo 2012, 359–63 (hydriai only, all-female scenes only). Both catalogues omit black-figure hydria Villa Giulia 131390 from the Tomb of the Necklace at Vulci (see below).

48. Sampling of scholarship with different hypotheses: Moon 1983b; Hannestad 1984; Manfrini-Aragno 1992; Manakidou 1992–93; Frel 1996; Lewis 2002, 1–4, 71–75; Ferrari 2003; Iozzo 2003; Shapiro 2003a; Brunori 2006; De Simone 2008; Sabetai 2009b; Pilo 2012; and further references below.

49. E.g., Dunkley 1935–36; Tölle-Kastenbein 1986; Pedley 1987.

50. Trinkl 2009, 156.

51. See Arvanitis 2008 for Peisistratid waterworks.

52. Pausanias locates the Enneakrounos in the Classical Agora, in the approximate location of the Southeast Fountainhouse; because all other sources place the Enneakrounos east of the Akropolis, Pausanias is now generally believed to be incorrect. See Paga 2015 for discussion and numerous references.

53. Trans. with discussion in Paga 2015, 359–60.

54. London B331 (manner of Lysippides Painter): *ABV* 261.41, 667; *BAPD* 302273.

55. Alkmaionid theory: e.g., Webster 1972, 62 (further speculating that the hydria “may have been bought by him [Hippokrates] or have been a present to him”); Peisistratid theory: Shapiro 1980.

56. Paga 2015. Associating the supposedly Peisistratid Southeast Fountainhouse with the hydriai (based on the erroneous information of Pausanias; see above): e.g., Pedley 1987, 76–77; A. Steiner 2004, 458–60.

57. E.g., D. Williams 1983, 103–5 (but leaving the question partly open); Frel 1996, 39–42; Shapiro 2003a.

58. Neils 2000, 209.

59. Louvre CA2587: *ARV*² 506.29; *BAPD* 205691.

60. E.g., Oakley 2000, 242.

61. E.g., Manfrini-Aragno 1992; Pfisterer-Haas 2002; Brunori 2006; Sabetai 2009; Pilo 2012; and see others below.

62. Manakidou 1992–93, 55.

63. Hydria (as noted in Manfrini-Aragno 1992, 135), London B339: *ABV* 264.1, 670, 678 (Group of London B339, akin to the Lysippides Painter); *BAPD* 302301. It was found in the Cuccumella area of the Vulci necropolis in April 1829 (Bonaparte 1829b, 141–42, cat. 1547), as was a fountainhouse hydria with a girl named Rhodon (London B333: *ABV* 676, 677, 678; *BAPD* 306483; Bonaparte 1829b, 142–46, cat. 1548), although Bonaparte’s catalogue does not specify whether they were found in the same tomb. Alabastron, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 508: *BAPD* 21648. For names and *kale* inscriptions, taking the position that neither definitively indicate *hetairai*, see Hedreen 2016b.

64. Manakidou 1992–93; Ferrari 2003.

65. Hannestad 1984.

66. E.g., Diehl 1964, 130–34; Simon 1983, 99.

67. Larson 2007, 131–32, notes that all the sources for the third day are late and “confused.”

68. London B332 (ex Canino): *ABV* 333.27, 694; *BAPD* 301805; Brunori 2006, 273, fig. 17.

69. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.732: *BAPD* 306479; and Langlotz 1909–33, 1:89–91, cat. 732a–b, pl. 47; M. Giannopoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 310–11, cat. 138 (illustrating and discussing Graef and Langlotz’s cat. 732a but not b); Hedreen 2016b, 64, fig. 6 (ditto).

70. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.740: *BAPD* 302937; Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, 1:92, cat. 740, pl. 47.

71. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.2599: *BAPD* 303427; Graef and Langlotz 1909–33, 1:254, cat. 2599, pl. 111; Mercati 2003, 115, cat. A11, with further discussion pp. 45–46.

72. Cf. the many uses of hydriai discussed in Trinkl 2009; Sowder Koch 2015.

73. Mercati 2003, 73–75.

74. Athens, Fetiche Djami inv. 1957Aa-2815.I–VI: *BAPD* 9023231; Sabetai 2009b, 110, fig. 7.

75. Sabetai 2009b, 109, identifies the figure as Nike. Winged Artemis: cf., e.g., the François Vase, chapter 3, n. 56, above (although with different garments).

76. Cf. the prayer to the *nymphai krenai* offered by Eumaios at a fountain in Ithaka, *Od.* 17.240–43. For nymphs generally: Larson 2001; nymphs of springs and fountains: Kopestonsky 2016.

77. The rightmost fragment of the hydria (illustrated only in Graef and Langlotz, pl. 47) shows the last girl of the group with her name placed to the left side (Kallis). If all the girls in the scene have their names to left (unclear, since some fragments are missing), “Kallirhoe” designates the leftmost girl, not the fountainhouse.

78. Hedreen 2016b, 65–66.

79. Hydria akin to the Antimenes Painter, from Vulci, Oxford 79.161/V222: *ABV* 281.7; *BAPD* 320227.

80. London B329, n. 45 above. Berlin F1908: *ABV* 365.70; *BAPD* 302065; Bonaparte 1829b, 140–41, cat. 1541. London B336: *ABV* 266.3, 678; *BAPD* 320013; Bonaparte 1829b, 155, cat. 1705.

81. The other two that definitely show women gathering water (as opposed to showing only a partial fountainhouse) are from the Agora: one was an isolated find (P14372: *BAPD* 31491), and another comes from the well deposit known as the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft (P2642: *BAPD* 31131; see Vanderpool 1946 for the deposit).

82. London B336 (Antimenes Painter): see n. 80 above, plus Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A49. Würzburg 304 (unattributed, ex Feoli): *ABV* 676, 678; *BAPD* 306484; Johnston 2006, 57, cat. 21A53.

83. Hermitage B169 (St 282), from Vulci (ex Canino), attributed variously to the Priam Painter or A D Painter: *BAPD* 8341; Johnston 2006, 118, cat. 8E57. Boston 61.195 (acquired in 1961, no documented provenience), Priam Painter: *Paralipomena* 147.5bis; *BAPD* 351087; Johnston 2006, 118, cat. 8E56a.

84. Known Vulci provenience: Villa Giulia 131390, from the Tomb of the Necklace, not in *BAPD* or previous studies: see below. London B332: n. 68 above, plus Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E18. London B329: n. 45 above, plus Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E10. Würzburg 316 (ex Feoli): *ABV* 334.2; *BAPD* 301815; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E11. Unknown provenience, acquired on the art market in 1961 so likely from Vulci, Toledo 1961.23: *Paralipomena* 147.5ter; *BAPD* 351088; Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E9.

85. Lewis 2002, 74–75.

86. Sabetai 2009b, 108–9.

87. Brunori 2006, 274–75.

88. Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 240–52, including tomb contents and a plan.

89. Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 240. No forensic analysis has been published.

90. Hydria, Villa Giulia 131390: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 240–41, pl. XVIII, cat. III.B.8.1. Oinochoai—Villa Giulia 131396: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 245–46, cat. III.B.8.7; Villa Giulia 131395: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 244–45, cat. III.B.8.6. Large amphora, Villa Giulia 131391: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 241–42, cat. III.B.8.2; Johnston 2006, 135, cat. 20E4b. Small amphorae—Villa Giulia 131394: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 244, cat. III.B.8.5; Villa Giulia 131393: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 243, cat. III.B.8.4; Johnston 2006, 126, cat. 11E31b, and 131, cat. 14E10b. Kyathoi—Villa Giulia 131399: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 246–47, cat. III.B.8.10; Villa Giulia 131400: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 47, cat. III.B.8.11. Lekythoi—Villa Giulia 131397: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 246, cat. III.B.8.8; Villa Giulia 131398: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 246, cat. III.B.8.9.

91. Cf. Puritani 2012, especially 106–9; Shipley 2016b, 248.
92. Kim 2018.
93. E.g., Pfisterer-Haas 2002; De Simone 2008; Pilo 2012. Its other publication, besides Moretti Sgubini 2001b, is by L. Ricciardi in Zinelli 2003, 76–77.
94. Barringer 1995, 69–77, with catalogue of Attic representations (exclusive of this vase) at 184–200.
95. E.g., Izzet 2012b, 50.
96. Vienna ASVI 2627, from Città della Pieve: Simon 1994, 256–57, cat. 72; Carpino 2003, pl. 6. Villa Giulia 6303, from Corchiano: Simon 1994, 259, cat. 100; Carpino 2003, pl. 5. Florence 79022, from Follonica near Populonia: Simon 1994, 259, cat. 101. Tokyo, private collection: de Grummond 2000a. See also van der Meer 1995, 33–39; Izzet 2012b.
97. Etruscan mirrors: e.g., Izzet 2007a, 43–86; De Puma 2013; Bonfante 2015.
98. New York 09.221.16: de Grummond 2002, 62, fig. 4; Izzet 2012b, 45, fig. 3.1.
99. De Grummond 2002, 68–70. For mirrors and prophecy, de Grummond 2000b, 2002; Bonfante 2015.
100. Discussion of the translation possibilities in de Grummond 2000a, 76–77; De Puma 2013, 1056. *Malena* (of which *malana* appears to be an alternate spelling) has traditionally been read as “mirror,” but new readings in context suggest “wedding gift.”
101. Shipley 2016b, 239, states that images of Thetis appear four times on vases found in Athens; however, her dataset includes only images from the Agora.
102. Kunze-Götte, Tancke, and Vierendeis 1999, 80–82; Paleothodoros 2012c, 30–31, figs. 10–11 (assemblage of vases), 12–13 (alabastron); Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 215, figs. 7–8. Alabastron, Kerameikos Museum 1531 (Diosphos Painter): *BAPD* 12918.
103. Kerameikos Museum 21290: *BAPD* 9022660; Kunze-Götte, Tancke, and Vierendeis 1999, 66–67; Schmidt 2009, 118–19, and fig. 1; Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 215–17, fig. 9.
104. Kerameikos Museum 21288: *BAPD* 9022661.
105. Kerameikos Museum 1008, attributed to a follower of Douris by Beazley: *ARV²* 806.92; *BAPD* 209973; Kunze-Götte, Tancke, and Vierendeis 1999, 24–25; Schmidt 2009, 121, fig. 5; Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 219–20, figs. 11–12.
106. Schmidt 2009 for the function of pyxides.
107. Helbig 1883b.
108. Helbig 1883b, 161–67.
109. Gsell 1891, 415, with sketch at 18, fig. 2.
110. Helbig 1883b, 164–67. Hydria, Torlonia Collection inv. 73: *ARV²* 30.2; *BAPD* 200171; Hoppin 1919, 2:122–23. Like the Torlonia vases discussed in chapter 3, the Hypsis hydria remains inaccessible for study.
111. Helbig 1883b, 166, “acqua fluente dalla maschera d’Achelloo.”
112. E.g., Ciuccarelli 2006, with other references.
113. London E437: *ARV²* 54.5, 1622; *BAPD* 200437; acquired by the British Museum in 1839 and formerly in the collection of Vincenzo Galassi.
114. Helbig 1883b, 165–66.
115. Hermitage 686: *ARV²* 1531.4; *BAPD* 231222; Beazley 1929, 44, cat. 4; Reeder 1995, 212–15, cat. 49. Berlin F2190: *ARV²* 1531.3; *BAPD* 231221; Beazley 1929, 43, cat. 3; Reeder 1995, 213–15, cat. 48; Cohen 2006, 270–71, cat. 80. Furtwängler 1885, 512–13, identifies them as coming from this tomb. For head oinochoai generally, Schöne-Denkinger 2016.

116. Sympotic interpretations: e.g., Lissarrague 1995–96; Reeder 1995, 215. Fortunelli 2006, 56–57, stresses that many lacking provenience probably came from Etruria.

117. Tarquinia RC6845: *ARV*² 1531.2; *BAPD* 260209; Helbig 1879a, 88; Beazley 1929, 43, cat. 2. Ancient repairs show reattachment of the handle at some point.

118. Tarquinia RC6846: *ARV*² 369.4; *BAPD* 203903; Helbig 1879a, 88–90; Ferrari 1988, 129–34, cat. 41. See Hedreen 2001, 192–94, for the identification of the scene as Paris arriving at Troy.

119. Beazley identifies this scene in *ARV*² as “Phoenix served with wine by Briseis.”

120. Caere, Villa Giulia 90295: *BAPD* 41906; Rizzo 1990, 90, cat. 20; the entire tomb assemblage appears on pp. 87–92. Because there were multiple burials, it is impossible to know which objects were deposited together and when. Spina, T128, Ferrara 1896 (*ARV*² 1536.8; *BAPD* 218411) and 1897 (*ARV*² 1536.9; *BAPD* 218412). See Isler-Kerényi 2003 for this tomb generally, 43 for the oinochoai.

121. Helbig notes that the right part was missing; all that remained of Hermes were his boots.

122. Helbig 1883b, 165; this vase is noted in Johnston 2006, 130, cat. 13E27, with the comment “where?”

123. Helbig 1883b, 167–68.

124. E.g., Munich 1693 (Antimenes Painter), from Vulci: *ABV* 280.2; *BAPD* 320222. London B330 (“manner of” the Antimenes Painter), from Vulci: *ABV* 276.1, 676, 678; *BAPD* 320163. Berlin F1908 (Leagros Group), from Vulci: see n. 80 above.

125. Lewis 2002, 73.

126. Cf. A. Steiner 2004, 447–54.

127. Società Hercle 1964, 21–23.

128. Copenhagen, National Museum 14930: *BAPD* 17563; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 37, fig. 41, p. 60, cat. SB21. Neither the Vulci provenience nor a citation to Società Hercle 1964 is given in Pfisterer-Haas or *BAPD*.

129. Provenience unknown, Madrid 10924, attributed to the Painter of the Madrid Fountain: *ABV* 335.1; *BAPD* 301822; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 37, fig. 40, p. 60, cat. SB20.

130. Leiden PC63, from Vulci (ex Canino): *ABV* 266.1, 664, 691; *BAPD* 320011; Johnston 2006, 136, cat. 21E13.

131. Cf. Barringer 2001, 39–40.

132. General discussions: Prayon 1993; Maggiani 1999, 2012; Zinelli 2003; Giontella 2006, 2012.

133. Massabò 1988–89; Ricciardi 1988–89; L. Ricciardi in Zinelli 2003, 125–31; Giontella 2006, 49–51; 2012, 66–70.

134. Still cursorily published: Buranelli 1994, 47–54, pls. 81–89; Riccioni 2003, 17; Giontella 2006, 47–49; 2012, 35.

135. Giontella 2006, 40–47; 2012, 52–58, with earlier references.

136. Oinochoai, Villa Giulia 64040, 64041: *ARV*² 1549.12–13; *BAPD* 218675, 218674; Riccioni 2003, 17, cat. 24–25, figs. 79–82. Rhyton, Villa Giulia 64039: *ARV*² 772; *BAPD* 209546; Riccioni 2003, 17, cat. 26, figs. 84–85. All three appear in Buranelli 1994, pl. 87.358.

137. Fortunelli 2006, oinochoai illustrated in pl. 1a–c.

138. Fortunelli 2006, 60; cf. Maggiani 1997, 49–50. E.g., on the Akropolis: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.1058/F15, 2.1059/F17, 2.1060/F16, and 2.1063/F18, all listed in Graef and Langlotz 1909–33; Pala 2012 (2.1058/F15 illustrated p. 67, fig. 20).

139. See chapter 4.

140. Gilotta 2003, 26–27; Ambrosini 2015, with further references.

141. Villa Giulia 100694: Zinelli 2003, 127 (catalogue entry by L. Ricciardi).

142. Rizzo 2009, 375–76, 382, fig. 17.
143. Boulogne 406: *ABV* 332.21; *BAPD* 301799; Moon 1983b, 105, fig. 7.111.
144. E.g., Moon 1983b, 104.
145. Johnston 2006, 129, cat. 13E7 (where the Vulci provenience is omitted); see n. 84 above for the 13E fountainhouse hydriai.
146. Moretti 1966 is the only publication of this tomb and provides the exact findspot of only five of the Attic vases inside; most other objects seem not to have been in their original location because of the rising and falling of water levels over the centuries (Moretti 1966, n.p.).
147. Villa Giulia, no inv. no.: *BAPD* 9029889; Moretti 1966, n.p.
148. Cf. Barringer 2001, 41–42.
149. Villa Giulia 106463: *Paralipomena* 146.8ter; *BAPD* 351080; Moretti 1966; Moon 1983b, 110–13, figs. 7.18a–7.19c.
150. Neils 2012, 158.
151. Moon 1983b, 113; cf. Lewis 1997, 153.
152. Attributed to the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, Bologna 17948 (261): *ARV*² 1089.28; *BAPD* 214616; Brizio 1879, 222; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 76, cat. L66; Macellari 2002, 101–2, pl. 65.
153. See catalogue in Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 70–78. For the motif generally: Lewis 2002, 145–49; Stähli 2013. All with further references.
154. Column krater, Vienna 2166: *ARV*² 1111.1; *BAPD* 214702; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 76, cat. 68. Stamnos, Munich 2411 (ex Candelori): *ARV*² 1051.18, 1072, 1607, 1680; *BAPD* 213649; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 75, cat. L64.
155. Cf. *louteria* in fourth-century houses at Olynthos, including those in courtyards and *pastades*. Cahill 2002, 168–69, suggests that these were multifunctional objects used in food preparation, washing, domestic ritual, etc., based on their central location in houses and association with different artifacts.
156. E.g., D. Williams 1983, 99.
157. *Parthenoi*: e.g., Ferrari 2002, 47–50; Pfisterer-Haas 2002, 40–58; Sabetai 2009b, 106. Spartans: Neils 2012, 157.
158. Cf. points made in, e.g., Lewis 2002, 145–49; Kreilinger 2006.
159. Lewis 1997, 153, likewise stresses the Etruscan findspots of these scenes and questions whether they would have been viewed as “erotic” by Etruscan consumers.
160. The chart in Sutton 2009a, 274, fig. 11, claims that 51 percent of “Archaic nude bathing and dressing women” scenes ($n = 59$) are cups, 7 percent kraters, 7 percent amphorae, 7 percent hydriai, and 5 percent stamnoi (the remainder are broken down further into other shapes).
161. Excerpted from Theopompus F 204 = Athen. 517d–518b, trans. Flower 1994, 219. Lewis 1997, 141, also quotes this passage as a means of explaining the possible appeal of these vases to the Etruscans.
162. Cf. scenes of sexual activity on Athenian vases as discussed in chapter 3; Lynch 2009 presents a similar hypothesis for scenes of heterosexual intercourse.
163. Sutton 2009a argues that bathing women portrayed later in the fifth century, especially when accompanied by Eros, are more explicitly “respectable” in status and were geared to an audience of women, not male symposiasts. He does not, however, take findspots into account.
164. Contra, e.g., Stähli 2013, who stresses a (hypothetical) sympotic context for the vases; so too Sutton 2009a. Neither introduces the question of Etruscan or other find contexts.
165. Amphora with Herakles bathing, London B229 (ex Canino): *BAPD* 11963.

CHAPTER 6. ATTIC VASES AS ETRUSCAN CINERARIA

1. Helbig 1886a, 23–25.
2. Chiusi P270: *BAPD* 32292; Helbig 1886a, 24; Bundrick 2015, 329, fig. 15; identification with the one described by Helbig initially made in Reusser 1993.
3. Chiusi P300: *BAPD* 6841; Bundrick 2015, 329, fig. 14; see Reusser 1993 for identification.
4. Repair noted in Reusser 1993, 75.
5. Iaia 1999, 97–99; illustrated examples: p. 98, fig. 25.1; p. 102, fig. 26A.1–2; p. 102, fig. 26B.1–2.
6. Nilsson Stutz and Kuijt 2014, 143.
7. McKinley (2013, 160) estimates that cremations lasted from eight to nine hours, based on experimental cremations undertaken by the author. H. Williams (2004, 271) estimates ten hours for Anglo-Saxon cremations. Habinek (2016) discusses literary evidence for Roman cremations and witnesses' reactions to the process.
8. H. Williams 2004, 271, with a sensory reconstruction of cremation continuing on 271–77 and summary table on 284; cf. Sørensen and Bille 2008; Habinek 2016, 12–18.
9. Habinek 2016 for Roman cremations, with earlier references.
10. H. Williams 2004, 278. Cf. also Sørensen 2014 on what he calls the “re-collection” of the remains, a literal collection as well as an opportunity to reflect and remember.
11. Communion: e.g., M. Becker 2009.
12. Delpino 1977; Toms 1992–93; Damgaard Andersen 1993; Tuck 1994, 623–26; Riva 2010b, 81ff.; Shipley 2016a; and further references in the notes below.
13. D. De Angelis in Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 89–91.
14. Delpino 2005; Iaia 2009–12, 83–84.
15. Delpino 2005, 345–46, pls. 2–3.
16. Delpino 2005, 347–49, pl. 4; Iaia 2009–12, 84, fig. 7; Riva 2010b, 78, fig. 16, p. 81.
17. Cf. Tuck 1994, 626; 2012, 42–43; de Grummond 2009, 175–76.
18. Shipley 2016a, 64.
19. Shipley 2016a, 65, with other references.
20. Steingraber 1986, 316–17, cat. 77. Discovery: Helbig 1881a, 46–50. Helbig records that nails were still embedded in the rear wall where vessels were originally suspended (the tomb had been previously disturbed). The round-based phorminx is also called a cradle kithara by modern scholars. See, e.g., Bundrick (2005, 25–26) for this instrument in Greek art and Sarti (2010, 186–87) in Etruscan art.
21. E.g., Brandt 2014a, 129.
22. Massa-Pairault 1998 for a Dionysian interpretation.
23. Cf. the rear wall of the Tomb of the Maiden (Tomba della Pulcella), where a kithara player and an aulos player flank the niche where the body of the deceased originally lay: Steingraber 1986, 336, cat. 103; Sarti 2010, 199, fig. 13c. Funerary art outside Tarquinia, e.g., aulos player on a Chiusine cippus with *prothesis*, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek HIN 81: Taylor 2014, 10, fig. 3. See also Camporeale 1959, 42; Jannot 1988, 324; Taylor 2014, 12.
24. Cf. Warden 2009, 211.
25. Cf., e.g., Palmieri 2005, especially 211, fig. 5, for summary table; R. Vargiu and M. Becker in Cataldi 2005, 409–11; Cataldi 2005, 408.
26. De la Genière 1987b, 206–7.

27. Contrast a fifth-century Attic cremation burial discussed in Charlier et al. 2009, where nearly all the bones were present and which the authors concluded reflected Homeric-style cremation practice. For the smaller volumes of Etruscan cremation burials, see the examples outlined by Vargiu and Becker in Cataldi 2005, 409–11.

28. M. Becker 2009.

29. E.g., the four *tombe a buca* described in Helbig 1876a.

30. Palmieri 2011, 88–96, lists ten examples of Etruscan figured vases used as cinerary urns at Tarquinia from nineteenth-century accounts.

31. Tarquinia 130579 (krater) and 130580 (dish), found in 1987: M. Cataldi in Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 101–2; Cataldi 2005, 396–98, 412, with forensic analysis by M. Becker at 411.

32. Popularity of amphorae in Tarquinia generally: de la Genière 1987b, 204–7; Hannestad 1989, 126–27. Cf. Bentz 2009, 85–86.

33. De la Genière 1987b, 206; cf. Paleothodoros 2011, 49.

34. E.g., Iaia 1999, 34 (“corredi maschili con scodella-coperchio”), with examples on 36, fig. 7. In one of Iaia’s examples, the cup/bowl was placed upside down over the urn (tomb Selciatello Sopra 97); in the other, it was placed right side up (tomb Selciatello Sopra 40).

35. Tarquinia RC1760: Palmieri 2011, 95–96, figs. 12–13.

36. Tarquinia RC1979: Palmieri 2011, 88–89, fig. 5; bronze “*collana*” noted in Helbig 1896, 185.

37. Tarquinia RC1063, attributed to the Painter of Boston 01.8035: *BAPD* 8235; Helbig 1878, 178; von Bothmer 1951, 43, cat. 19; Tronchetti 1983, 113–15, cat. 44.

38. Harvard 1977.216.2244: *ABV* 245.64; *BAPD* 301357; Mommsen 1975, 85, cat. 2. I thank Susanne Ebbinghaus and Amy Brauer for confirming that no identification of this amphora with a Tarquinian burial existed in published or unpublished form (pers. comm., 19 and 22 October 2015). I presented my initial findings at the 2016 Archaeological Institute of America annual meeting in San Francisco, in a paper titled “Tarquinia, the Affecter, and Athenian Vases Abroad.”

39. Helbig dismissed the two Etruscan vases as “di una pessima fabbrica locale” and said that one was decorated with birds in flight, the other with two centaurs and a swan. Neither are identified today.

40. Haynes was in Rome from mid-March 1876 to 6 June, at which point he traveled to Orvieto, Perugia, and other sites from Tuscany northward. The Tarquinia visit is documented in a letter to his mother, Caroline Williamson Haynes Chapman, from 22 May 1876, and in an entry in his travel diary from 21 May, where he specifies meeting Canonico Marsi [*sic*] and seeing his collection. Many thanks to the Massachusetts Historical Society archivists for their assistance as I consulted the Haynes papers in August 2016.

41. Helbig 1876a, 170.

42. Helbig 1876a, 170–71.

43. Shapiro 1989b. Mommsen 1975, 64–68, likewise discusses the influence of the iconography of Birth of Athena scenes.

44. E.g., Harari 1997; de Grummond 2006, 122–28.

45. Vatican 12687 (from Vulci): de Grummond 2006, 198, fig. VIII.27. For Turms Aitas, see Bonamici 2005; de Grummond 2006, 196–97; Gilotta 2010.

46. Turms appears at the head of the chariot procession of the apotheosis of Hercle on the Caeretan “Ricci” hydria, Villa Giulia 80983 (Ricci 1946–48).

47. Sapirstein 2013, 496. Mommsen 1975 suggests that the Affecter’s earliest vases may date closer to 550.

48. Gotha 45: *ABV* 245.62; *BAPD* 301350; Mommsen 1975, 87, cat. 13; acquisition through Helbig noted in *CVA*. Tarquinia 625: *ABV* 245.65; *BAPD* 301358; Mommsen 1975, 85, cat. 1.

49. Baltimore 48.11: *ABV* 245.69; *BAPD* 301362. Before its 1902 purchase by Henry Walters, it was in the Massarenti collection; another ex-Massarenti Walters vase, a red-figure psykter attributed to the Syriskos Painter, came from the 1875 Marzi excavations of the Tomb of the Leopards (Baltimore 48.77, *ARV*² 263.52; *BAPD* 202734; Blanck 1988). Dietrich von Bothmer observed (1980, 94) that nineteenth-century repairs done on this amphora resembled those done on other vessels by the Tarquinian restorers Antonio Scappini and Vincenzo Fioroni.

50. Mommsen 1975, 69–71, for the Group One stylistic parameters.

51. Bologna PU189, acquired for the Palagi collection in 1841 by Eduard Gerhard (per *CVA*), so possibly Vulci: *ABV* 245.67; *BAPD* 301360; Johnston 2006, 56, cat. 21A30. The other seven Σ O vases appear as Johnston 2006, 56–57, cat. 31–36, 38, and belong to Mommsen's Groups Four, Five, Six, and Seven. Five other trademark types appear on Affecter vases, suggesting relationships with multiple traders during his career.

52. Tarquinia RC5564: *ABV* 84.1; *BAPD* 300779. Discovery: Fiorelli 1884; Helbig 1884, 123–26.

53. Helbig 1884, 124. According to Helbig, each of the two benches carved from the tufa held a skeleton (which would imply a husband, wife, and possibly a son who had died before marriage as the cremated individual), but Fiorelli's report in *NSc* says that only one skeleton was present, which might indicate that the cremated deceased was the husband and the inhumed deceased the wife.

54. Cf. one of the scenes on the neck of the François Vase, for which see Barringer 2013. For this theme generally: Barringer 2001, 147–61.

55. Fiorelli 1884, 80.

56. Helbig 1891, 123–24.

57. I thank Ann Blair Brownlee for confirming that my identification was new information and sharing details of the acquisition (pers. comm., 30 July 2015). Both vases are described in Luce 1917 as being “from Corneto,” but with no reference to a documented findspot or cinerary urn function.

58. Philadelphia MS1752: *BAPD* 6569; Luce 1917, 148–50, figs. 54–55.

59. Philadelphia MS1753: *BAPD* 41342; Luce 1917, 154, fig. 62, p. 155.

60. Luce 1917, 155.

61. Tarquinia RC7453: *ABV* 270.61; *BAPD* 320071; Burow 1989, 83, cat. 37. Discovery: Helbig 1890, 149. Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar appear on an amphora that was used as a cinerary urn but deposited inside a chamber tomb with an inhumation burial, Tarquinia 1503: *Paralipomena* 145.5bis; *BAPD* 351073; Palmieri 2011, 125, fig. 24. Discovery: Cultrera 1924, 400–401 (Tomb II), 414–15, figs. 8–9.

62. Tarquinia RC976: *ABV* 269.45; *BAPD* 320055; Burow 1989, 89, cat. 89; Palmieri 2011, 129–30, fig. 27.

63. Helbig 1878; Naccarato 2000, 28–29. I am grateful to Vittorio Naccarato for discussing these tombs with me during a chance encounter at the Archivio Storico of the Comune of Tarquinia.

64. Woodford and Loudon 1980, 31.

65. Johnston 2006, 66, cat. 37A1–6, plus Tarquinia 112378, whose trademark is recorded in Cataldi 2005, 399. See further below for this vase.

66. Tarquinia RC968: *BAPD* 8226; Helbig 1878, 179–80; Tronchetti 1983, 82–83, cat. 29; Palmieri 2011, 131, fig. 28.

67. Schefold (1992, 163) estimates ca. 200 black-figure vases with Theseus and the Minotaur. Shapiro (1990, 128–29) observes that Minotaur scenes first appear on Athenian vases ca. 560 but that the subject had

earlier been found on Corinthian and Boeotian vases. Shipley 2016b, 234, table 1, counts two Attic Theseus vases from Chiusi, five from Tarquinia, and twelve from Vulci, surely a low estimate, given the number of unprovenanced black-figure vessels with likely Etruscan provenience.

68. Hybridity and the liminality of monsters in Etruria: e.g., Warden 2012; for the Minotaur and its uniquely Etruscan incarnations, including being depicted as an infant, see 81–82.

69. Cf. Avramidou 2011, 38–39, discussing the Codrus Painter's red-figure Theseus cycle cup, exported to Vulci, London E84: *ARV*² 1269.4; *BAPD* 217213.

70. De Grummond 2006, 186, illustrating a now-lost mirror from Civita Castellana (ca. 300) at fig. VIII.14.

71. Tarquinia RC1091: *ARV*² 76.65; *BAPD* 200592; Helbig 1878, 180; Paleothodoros 2004a, 162, cat. 110.

72. The cup and krater are displayed this way in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense (as of June 2016), and one can see that if turned upside down, the cup would not fit as well.

73. Tarquinia RC1804: *ABV* 275.5, 691; *BAPD* 320151; Helbig 1888, 58; Burow 1989, 96, cat. M9 (manner of Antimenēs Painter).

74. Black-figure amphorae—(a) Tarquinia 1553 (unattributed): *BAPD* 13826; Helbig 1892, 157; other side depicts the Return of Hephaistos; (b) Tarquinia RC1062 (Leagros Group): *Paralipomena* 121, 167; *BAPD* 340488; Helbig 1878, 179 (*buca* near the Tomb of the Baron); (c) Tarquinia RC7454 (unattributed): *BAPD* 9009515; Helbig 1890, 149 (*buca* near two painted chamber tombs). Phintias amphora, Tarquinia RC6843: *ARV*² 23.2, 1620; *BAPD* 200117; Ferrari 1988, 17–23, cat. 2. Discovery: Helbig 1879a, 85–88; L. Dasti in *MemAcclinc* 3 (1878–79), 151–52; Naccarato 2000, 31. Dasti notes that the amphora was found broken into over 500 pieces and showed some signs of burning before its restoration by Antonio Scappini.

75. From Tomb 2590 *a pozzetto*, discovered in 1961, Tarquinia 73655: A. Emiliozzi Morandi in Moretti 1975, 58–59, cat. 5; Palmieri 2005, 210, fig. 4. Psykters are rare at Tarquinia; cf. the red-figure example attributed to the Syriskos Painter from the Tomb of the Leopards, n. 49, above. An unattributed black-figure amphora serving as cinerarium has dancing women (maenads? nymphs?) on each side: Tarquinia RC1748, not in *BAPD*; see Helbig 1885, 222, for discovery.

76. Tarquinia RC1550: *ABV* 137.63; *BAPD* 310323; Cultrera 1924, 403–4 (Tomb V), 416–17, figs. 10–11.

77. Tarquinia 112378: Cataldi 2005, 399, no. 1, p. 400, fig. 4a, p. 413, pl. 2. For the tomb generally: M. Cataldi in Moretti Sgubini 2001a, 101–2; Cataldi 2005, 399–400.

78. Summary of forensic analysis: M. Becker in Cataldi 2005, 411.

79. Cataldi 2005, 400–402 (tomb), 411 (forensic analysis, M. Becker).

80. Tarquinia 102831: Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 387–88, cat. 1, p. 390, fig. 15 (three views), 384–93 (the tomb as a whole). F. Wiel-Marin provides a dating of the vase for Cavagnaro Vanoni's report (p. 388). Domestic scenes with female musicians: Bundrick 1998; 2005, 92–102, with further references. Women with book rolls: Immerwahr 1964; Glazebrook 2005 (which does not include the Tarquinia pelike). The present discussion builds upon my talk at the 2015 Society of Classical Studies annual meeting in New Orleans titled “From Athens to Tarquinia: A Female Musician in Context.” I thank Alfonsina Russo and Maria Laura Falsini (the latter formerly) of the (at that time) Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale for the authorization to study the vase in the Tarquinia storerooms in January 2014, Giulia Barra of the American Academy in Rome for help in obtaining these authorizations, and Beatrice Casocavallo of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense for facilitating the visit. I was given permission to photograph the vase in June 2016, for which I thank Alessia Argento of the Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, and once more Beatrice Casocavallo.

81. Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 387.
82. Funerary sacrifice: e.g., Rask 2014, 287–90, and other references in chapter 3 above. Rafanelli 2013, 578–80, notes the association of pigs and piglets with Demeter-Ceres-Vei and the functions of Etruscan funerary sacrifice as purificatory, propitiatory, and rejuvenating for the spirits of the dead.
83. Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 385.
84. Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 387 and n. 28 (reporting on an examination conducted by F. Mallegni and G. Tartarelli), 392–93. Mallegni and Tartarelli noted no repetition between the bones inside and outside the pelike, the same degree of cremation/burning in each set, and a similar degree of maturation.
85. Catalogued in Bundrick 1998, Glazebrook 2005; to these lists one can add both the Tarquinia pelike and a hydria in the manner of the Niobid Painter discussed in Oakley 2014b (Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, inv. IV-13).
86. Bonamici 1992, 1993.
87. Female krotala players in Tarquinian tombs: Brandt 2014a, 172n210. Stringed instruments in Etruria: Jannot 1979, 1988; Sarti 2010; Tobin 2013.
88. Stopponi 1983; Steingraber 1986, 340, cat. 108; see Steingraber 2006, 140 for current dating.
89. Sittl 1885, 145; Dennis 1883, 296; cited in Stopponi 1983, 20n19.
90. Stopponi 1983, 51–54.
91. Stopponi 1983, 53.
92. Cited in Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 385.
93. See plan in Cavagnaro Vanoni 2000–2001, 386, fig. 10.
94. Linington 1980, 639n28.
95. Prayon 2010, 78.
96. Tarquinia RC7456: *ARV*² 206.126, 1633; *BAPD* 2019335; Ferrari 1988, 80–82, cat. 21; Robertson 1988, 77, cat. 2; Silvestrelli 1998, 164–65, fig. 7; Padgett 2017, 381, cat. B126. I presented a version of the discussion that follows at the 2018 annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, in Boston, as a paper titled “The Berlin Painter’s Europa Krater and a ‘Special Dead’ in Tarquinia?”
97. Bell krater as new invention: e.g., Gaunt 2017, 96, speculating on whether Euphronios was the potter of the Berlin Painter’s four surviving examples (Padgett 2017, 381, cat. B123–26). Only Berlin Painter vase from Tarquinia: cf. Saunders 2017, 115.
98. General discussion: e.g., Robertson 1988; Silvestrelli 1998.
99. See Trahey 2016 on targeted distribution of these scenes in Etruria. Difficulties of identification: e.g., Villanueva Puig 1987; Robertson 1988, 78–79; Silvestrelli 1998; Trahey 2016 (arguing for deliberate ambiguity in at least some cases).
100. Two hydriai by the Eagle Painter—Louvre E696 (ex Campana): Hemelrijk 1984, 21–23, cat. 10; Villa Giulia 50643 (ex Castellani): Hemelrijk 1984, 26–28, cat. 13. See also Hemelrijk 1984, 126; Bonaudo 2004, 171–81.
101. Louvre G175 (ex Campana, so possibly from Caere): *ARV*² 206.124, 1633; *BAPD* 201933; Padgett 2017, 290–91, cat. 44, with numerous references (J. Gaunt).
102. Oxford 1927.4502: *ARV*² 210.172; *BAPD* 201990; Padgett 2017, 384, cat. B172. Trademark 9E under the foot suggests an Etruscan findspot (Johnston 2006, 122, cat. 9E92). Seven Berlin Painter vases, all dated to his Early phase, carry 9E type xii (AP ligatured, tailed rho); four of them have proveniences in Vulci (two), Caere, and Chiusi (Johnston 2006, 122, cat. 9E88–93). Two Berlin Painter pelikai from his Very Early phase carry 9E type xi (“internal ligature,” Johnston 2006, 122, cat. 9E78–79). Trader 9E seems to have had a

long involvement with the Etruscan market, and the appearance of his mark on several Berlin Painter vases suggests an element of targeting on both sides; cf. Saunders 2017, 108.

103. Helbig 1890, 148–49. I consulted the original *Rapporto settimanale* in the Archivio Storico of the Comune of Tarquinia on 18 May 2016. I thank archivist Piera Ceccarini for her assistance and permission to photograph pages from the *Rapporto* for study and to quote them here.

104. Helbig 1890, 148.

105. Tarquinia RC7457: *ARV*² 944.1; *BAPD* 212732; Marroni 2014, 127, cat. 37, pls. 35–36.

106. Ferrari (1988, 80) and Silvestrelli (1998, 190) briefly mention the krater's cinerarium function; Ferrari references the *Rapporto settimanale*.

107. One cannot rule out the possibility that an infant was interred together with a deceased adult female, and that the infant was the “cadavere decomposto” of the *Rapporto*. Infant/neonate burials are unattested in currently known cemeteries of Tarquinia, which implies that infants were interred elsewhere (M. Becker 2007). An equivalent but much earlier situation in Greece is the burial of the famous “Rich Athenian Lady” of the Geometric-period Athenian Agora (Liston and Papadopoulos 2004), who received treatment befitting such special dead.

108. Repairs are noted without much detail in Helbig 1890, 148; Ferrari 1988, 80. I did not secure permission to examine the vase outside its showcase, so I could not determine whether the two fragments belong to this krater, were ancient replacement pieces from another vase (see Elston 1990, 63, for this repair technique), or are nineteenth-century restorations.

109. Elston 1990, 66, suggests that although craftsmen relied primarily on clamps to repair vase damage, some kind of resin like pine pitch may have been used as a sealant and/or adhesive.

110. Cf. Elston 1990, 58; Dooijes and Nieuwenhuyse 2007, 18.

111. Helbig 1890, 148. The *Rapporto settimanale* does not mention the ancient repairs.

112. Mengarelli excavations: Ricci 1955.

113. Ricci 1955, 560–62.

114. Villa Giulia 47934, not included in *CVA* or *BAPD*: Ricci 1955, 561–62, figs. 131–32.

115. S. Woodford in Woodford and Loudon 1980, 28–29.

116. Ricci 1955, 578. The amphora is Villa Giulia inv. 46362, not included in *CVA* or *BAPD*.

117. Villa Giulia 46942: *BAPD* 17982; Ricci 1955, 365–67, fig. 80.

118. Ricci 1955, 365–67.

119. The alabastron may have held unguents to be poured upon the flames to mask the smell of burning flesh; for such practices in Roman literature, see Habinek 2016, 5.

120. Villa Giulia 47214: *ARV*² 280.13; *BAPD* 202716; Ricci 1955, 670–71, fig. 152. The reverse shows a bearded man with staff.

121. Youths with lyres in pursuit scenes: Bundrick 2005, 64–65, with further references.

122. Homosexual relationships: e.g., Shapiro 1992, 66–70 (the bearded man on the reverse being read as the *erastes* awaiting the young man's capture). Cf. column krater by the Eucharides Painter with bearded and winged god (Zephyros?) pursuing a youth (Hyakinthos?), from Tomb 539 of the Valle Trebba necropolis at Spina, Ferrara 2666: *ARV*² 228.27; *BAPD* 202236; Langridge-Noti 2013, 68, fig. 4. Cf. also erotic pursuit scenes in the Brygos Tomb (chapter 3), and the Europa krater in the previous section. The specific motif of Eros with a whip recalls the eponymous scene of the Tomb of the Whipping at Tarquinia; see chapter 3, n. 19, above.

123. Cf. Klinger 2013 for a winged youth on an early fifth-century Etruscan black-figure stamnos.

124. Ricci 1955, 948, for the tomb. Pelike, Villa Giulia 49002: *ARV*² 1067.8; *BAPD* 214379. The reverse shows two draped youths in conversation.

125. Boston 98.916: chapter 2, n. 54, above.

126. Gsell 1891, 117–18; see 111 for the premature removal of objects; 106, fig. 38, for a plan of Tomb XLIX; pp. 110–20 for the tomb as a whole. Other tomb objects are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, a group having been purchased by Edward Perry Warren from Prince Torlonia; among them is an Attic black-figure lip cup signed by Tleson, son of Nearchos, as potter (inv. 98.920, ca. 550–545: chapter 2, n. 2, above). An Attic black-figure amphora in the manner of Lydos is in Berlin (inv. 3361, ca. 560): *ABV* 116.6; *BAPD* 310243; Gsell 1891, 111, no. 1. Both feature animal imagery; their original chambers could not be determined by Gsell.

127. List of objects at Gsell 1891, 115–16, including bucchero cups, bucchero chalices, bronzes probably from a wooden chest, a fragmentary alabastron, an object he called a saltcellar (“salière”), and fragments of two bronze knives. Along with the amphora itself, three other Chamber B objects are in the MFA Boston: an Italo-Corinthian oinochoe (98.914, p. 115, no. 57); small Etruscan kylix (98.912, p. 116, no. 58); and Etruscan aryballos (98.909, p. 116, no. 66).

128. Cf. Tyrrhenian amphora with Heraklean Amazonomachy by the Prometheus Painter, found in Tomb 207 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at Caere (chapter 3, n. 16, above) and the Camtar Painter’s amphora with Heraklean Amazonomachy used as a cinerary urn at Tarquinia (n. 52 above). SeungJung Kim (2018) argues that the Tyrrhenian Group’s Amazonomachy scenes represent a successful iconographic experiment targeted to Etruscan consumers, noting the high proportion of their amphorae (over 20 percent) with this subject.

129. A. M. Moretti Sgubini and L. Ricciardi in Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 217–19.

130. Vulci 131574: Moretti Sgubini 2001b, 217–18, cat. III.B.5.1. The catalogue entry notes a partial trademark in red dipinto under the foot, possibly Johnston’s type 18B, and two incised Etruscan letters. These could belong to either a masculine or feminine name and so offer no help in identifying the deceased.

131. Stansbury-O’Donnell 2006, 167–68.

132. The tomb: Sgubini Moretti and De Angelis 1994, 39, 47–48 (appendix by A. De Angelis), pls. XVII, XXIV; A. M. Moretti Sgubini and L. Ricciardi in Moretti Sgubini 2002, 52–62. The large structure: Sgubini Moretti and De Angelis 1994, 36–39, pls. XII, XV–XVII.

133. Cf. Steingraber and Menichelli 2010, 61.

134. Sgubini Moretti and De Angelis 1994, 53.

135. Droop cup, Vulci, Museo Archeologico nn. scavo 13, 20 (T8.1989): *BAPD* 43451; Moretti Sgubini 2002, 55, cat. I.B.3.2, and fig. on p. 58. Little Master band cup, Vulci, Museo Archeologico n. scavo 8 (T8.1989): Moretti Sgubini 2002, 55, cat. I.B.3.3, and fig. on p. 58.

136. Vulci, Museo Archeologico n. scavo 12 (T8.1989): *BAPD* 43450; A. De Angelis in Sgubini Moretti and De Angelis 1994, 47, pl. XXIV; Moretti Sgubini 2002, 55, cat. I.B.3.1, and figs. on p. 58.

137. Moretti Sgubini 2002, 63–68; Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005, 525; Palmieri 2011, 96. Brief descriptions of other cremation burials with Etruscan vases, some evidently female based on grave goods: Moretti Sgubini and Ricciardi 2005, 525–26; Palmieri 2011, 96–97.

138. Vulci, Museo Archeologico inv. V.01.CMA: Moretti Sgubini 2002, 65, cat. I.B.4.1.

139. E.g., Gempeler 1974; Damgaard Andersen 1993; Tuck 1994; 2012, 52–54; Paolucci 2010; O’Donoghue 2016; all with other references.

140. In addition to examples discussed in this section, Tomb 4 at Acquaviva di Montepulciano, excavated in 1897, featured a black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group as a cinerarium, both sides showing

warriors as if departing for battle. Florence 77407: *BAPD* 16548; Rastrelli 1997, 45, cat. 1; pp. 43–54 for the assemblage.

141. Helbig 1879b; and see Giulierini 1999–2001. The discussion that follows is a reworking of Bundrick 2014b, 2016a. I thank John Ochsendorf, director of the American Academy in Rome, for permission to reuse material from Bundrick 2016a.

142. Cf. Bundrick 2016a, 11–12.

143. Cf. Lynch and Matter 2014 about Gordion in Turkey, an inland and not particularly accessible site where “attractive consumer demand” was the “most likely factor influencing the trade” in Athenian imported pottery (112).

144. Helbig 1879b, 248: “uno scheletro (incombusto).” Tsingarida 2014b, 67, incorrectly references “les restes incinérés d’un squelette” with this burial.

145. Cf. Pieraccini 2014.

146. Cf. Tsingarida 2014b, 68. It is possible that vases were used in life before being employed as cineraria, which could compress the chronology of burials; however, none of the identified vases show signs of ancient repair that would help support such a thesis.

147. Helbig 1879b, 245–47. Black-bodied volute kraters and their distribution: Tsingarida 2014b; volute kraters in Etruria generally: Gaunt 2014.

148. Rastrelli 1998, 351. Baltimore 48.29: *BAPD* 16188; Gaunt 2002, 453, cat. 42 (“presumably from Italy”); Iozzo 2006, 125, 234, fig. IV.3; H. Coccagna in Albersmeier 2009, 276, cat. 83; Bundrick 2014b, 14–15, figs. 5–7. I thank John Oakley for sharing his unpublished *CVA* entry with me. Of the works listed above in this note, only Iozzo (2006) cited Rastrelli 1998 and provided a Foiano provenience, until Bundrick (2014b) and Tsingarida (2014b, 67–68).

149. Massarenti 1897, 45–46, cat. 209.

150. Ferrara 2739/T749: *ARV*² 536.1, 1658; *BAPD* 206067; Aurigemma 1960, 74–77, pls. 76–88. A volute krater attributed to the Altamura Painter served as a cinerary urn in Tomb 242 of the Certosa necropolis at Bologna, although the gender of the deceased cannot be determined. Bologna 271: *ARV*² 590.7; *BAPD* 206823; Zannoni 1876, 325, pl. 85.

151. Cf. Bundrick 2016b, 13. The volute krater from Bologna in n. 150 above was likewise missing a handle upon discovery.

152. CB II cat. 107.

153. Florence/Cortona 74624: chapter 4, n. 29, above.

154. See M. Guiman in Fortunelli 2005, 248, cat. VI.112, for transcription and references.

155. Per Rex Wallace (pers. comm., 14 October 2011). I thank Professor Wallace for his observations (“there are no recognizable names, nouns, or verbs”) and Nancy de Grummond for putting me in touch with him.

156. Poggio alla Sala tomb: Rastrelli 2000. Chianciano Terme tomb: Paolucci and Rastrelli 2006, 18–21.

157. Rastrelli 1998, 350–51, when the pelike was at the Villa Passerini near Bettolle. It has since been acquired for the Republic of Italy together with the rest of the Passerini collection: Florence 253096. I thank Mario Iozzo for sharing photographs of the pelike to aid my research and granting permission on behalf of the Polo Museale della Toscana to publish the obverse side.

158. Samothrace 57.565: *ARV*² 232.1; *BAPD* 202274; Dusenbery 1998, 125–26 (Burial S58). Other black-figure pelikai from Etruria—(a) Bologna G10 (PU1999), from Caere, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter: *ABV* 393.14, *BAPD* 302930; (b) Kassel T675, from Caere, attributed to the Leagros Group: *BAPD*

351233; (c) Florence, no inv. no., from Populonia: von Bothmer 1951, 44, cat. 55. See Bundrick 2014b, 19n29, for other pelikai and further references.

159. Cf. Jannot 1979, 489–92; Sarti 2010, 187–88. The kithara shown in the Tomb of the Maiden (n. 23, above) is shaped slightly differently from Greek examples.

160. Jannot 1993; see examples of urns and cippi with these motifs in Jannot 1984.

161. E.g., paintings in the Tomb of the Monkey at Chiusi, where the seated woman observing funerary games may be the deceased: Steingraber 1986, 273–75, cat. 25.

162. Importance of stamnoi at Chiusi and environs: Persano 2015, 53–54.

163. Helbig's description (1879b, 244): "Un uomo con lunga barba aguzza, vestito di chitone lungo e mantello, il capo cinto di una tenia, ed una donna ch'ha i capelli sciolti, vestita di chitone e mantello, stanno in piedi, l'uno dirimpetto all'altra. L'uomo, chi tiene colla sin. uno scettro, pone la mano d. sulla spalla della donna, la quale stende la d., quasi se cercasse calmare l'uomo e scusarsi con esso."

164. Pursuit scenes with Zeus: Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 22–26, with catalogue at 93–97; Arafat 1990, 77–86, with catalogue at 191–95. The Foiano vase does not appear in either study, nor could I make a match in *BAPD*. If Helbig misread the object because of the vase's newly excavated condition, the figure could instead be Poseidon with trident or (less likely) Dionysos with thyrsos.

165. Bologna 225: *ARV*² 1089.30; *BAPD* 214618; Zannoni 1876, 217–18, pl. 55.

166. Two others serving as Etruscan cineraria are a bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter from Tomb 79 of the Certosa necropolis of Bologna (Zeus pursues woman; attributes: lightning bolt and scepter), Bologna 313: *ARV*² 602.30; *BAPD* 206968; Zannoni 1876, 165, pl. 39; and a calyx krater by the Achilles Painter from Suessula (Zeus chasing a woman), Boston 03.817: *ARV*² 991.59; *BAPD* 213880; Oakley 1997, 125, cat. 80, pl. 42B.

167. Helbig 1879b, 244.

168. Boston 90.156 (ex Warren): *ARV*² 605.62; *BAPD* 207002; CB II cat. 107; Prange 1989, 198, cat. N81; Bundrick 2014b, 17–18, figs. 8–9.

169. Ferrara 2681/T703, attributed to the Group of Polygnotos: Bundrick 2016b, with earlier references; hydriai at Spina in general: De Meo 1998–99.

170. Bundrick 2005, 118–21, with further references; Orpheus in the Niobid Painter's work: Prange 1989, 81.

171. Bundrick 2005, 121–25, with further references.

172. Vulci—amphora by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria, Vatican 16534: *ARV*² 616.7, 1662; *BAPD* 207127; stamnos by the Dokimasia Painter, Basel BS1411: *Paralipomena* 373.34ter; *BAPD* 275231; amphora by the Niobid Painter, Brooklyn 59.34: *ARV*² 604.57, 1701; *BAPD* 206996. Chiusi—stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (now lost): *ARV*² 1050.1, 1679; *BAPD* 213632. Spina—unattributed cup, San Simeon 5546; column krater by the Florence Painter, Ferrara 2795: *ARV*² 541.7; *BAPD* 206135; oinochoe by the Schuwalow Painter, Zurich, Univ. 3637: *BAPD* 16089. Adria—fragmentary cup by the Briseis Painter, Adria 22110/B496: *ARV*² 409.44; *BAPD* 204442. Shipley (2016b, 244) mistakenly alleges that Orpheus is "represented in Athens but not in Etruria" when it comes to Attic vases (cf. 243, table 6, where Orpheus is listed as "unique to Athens").

173. Louvre G416: *ARV*² 484.17, 1655; *BAPD* 205400. The earliest publications, including in *BdI* and *MonAnt*, make no mention of Nola, and *CVA* states only "Italie." Cf. discussion in Briquel 1995 of some Campana/Louvre vases with *śuthina* inscriptions, which over the years had become erroneously associated

with Nola but which Briquel believed more likely to have come from Caere; cf. Sarti 2014, 98, on the misattribution of Nolan proveniences.

174. Five such mirrors are known, four with central Italian findspots (Chiusi, Orvieto, and Castelgiorgio); see de Grummond 2000b; De Puma and Guthrie 2001. The oracular head of Orpheus appears on three Attic red-figure vases: Bundrick 2005, 125–26, with further references.

175. Helbig 1879b, 248–49.

176. Baltimore 48.67: *ARV*² 1098.29; *BAPD* 216093; Massarenti 1897, 34, cat. 176; Oakley 1992b, 14, pls. 17, 19.3; Schäfer 1997, pl. 38.1; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006, 162, fig. 54; L. Lieberman in Albersmeier 2008, 86–87, cat. 26. My findings were initially presented in a talk at the American Academy in Rome (March 2014) and then published in Bundrick 2016a. I thank Marden Nichols, former assistant curator of ancient art at the Walters Art Museum, for confirming that the Naples Painter's krater had not previously been identified with Foiano Tomb Two (pers. comm., January 2014). The "coperchio" mentioned by Helbig remains a mystery.

177. Bundrick 2005, 35, with further references.

178. Reclining male spectator: cf. Bundrick 2005, 111–14; 2016a, 3–4; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006, 162.

179. Bundrick 2016a, 11, table 1.

180. Cf. Boardman 1979, 36–39; G. Giudice 2007 (with many references).

181. The hypothesis of a route that encompassed Puglia and Adriatic cities further north like Spina is discussed throughout G. Giudice 2007, with references to earlier scholarship.

182. The distribution of eye cups noted in chapter 4 suggests that the eye cup of Foiano Tomb One may have arrived at Vulci before making its way west. As for the Niobid Painter hydria in Tomb One, other vases by this painter can be found at Spina (five, maybe six), Vulci (eleven, maybe twelve), Bologna (one), and Perugia (one: see "Conclusions" in this chapter), as noted in Prange 1989, 123–24, with chart at 128. The Foiano hydria may have arrived from the north via Spina, but perhaps more likely from the west via Vulci.

183. All in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara, none of whose full tomb assemblages have been published. (a) Inv. 10461 (T310 BV PB): *ARV*² 1097.24bis; *BAPD* 216088; Berti and Restani 1988, 82, cat. 27. (b) Inv. T462: *ARV*² 1098.27; *BAPD* 216091. (c) Inv. 3003 (T84 VT): *ARV*² 1098.28; *BAPD* 216092; Berti and Restani 1988, 79, cat. 24. (d) No inv. no.: *ARV*² 1098.29bis; *BAPD* 216094. The gesturing man with uplifted arm appears at right on inv. 3003 and at left on inv. 10461.

184. Sydney, Nicholson Museum 46.42: *ARV*² 1098.26; *BAPD* 216090; Bundrick 2016a, 13, fig. 7.

185. Robertson 1992, 216.

186. "Standardized" symposion scenes as they appeared on column and especially bell kraters: e.g., Peschel 1987; Schäfer 1997. See expanded discussion in Bundrick 2016a.

187. Chapter 2, n. 138, above.

188. Cf. O'Donoghue 2016, with earlier references.

189. See chapter 3, n. 74, above.

190. O'Donoghue 2016, 87.

191. Florence 5501: Jannot 1984, 19–20, cat. B.I.1, fig. 93. Female aulos players are rare in Etruscan art.

192. O'Donoghue (2016, 88) observes that athletics and games appear on about 25 percent of his sample of 150 Chiusine urns and cippi, making that the "singularly most popular motif."

193. See Bundrick 2016a, 8–10, for iconographic comparanda; O'Donoghue 2016 for the Chiusine masculine ideal generally.

194. Cf., e.g., Oestigaard 1999; H. Williams 2004, 2013, 2014; Sørensen and Bille 2008; Rebay-Salisbury 2010; Brück 2014; Cerezo-Román and Williams 2014, especially 247–50; Nilsson Stutz and Kuijt 2014; Shipley 2016a.

195. Cf. Shipley 2016a for these burials, with references.
196. Oestigaard 1999, 351; cf. H. Williams 2014, describing ceramic urns in Anglo-Saxon Britain as “highly charged mnemonic media” (101).
197. Cf. Bundrick 2016b for Spina; Rendeli 1993, 2, for an Attic stamnos used as a cinerarium in Tomb 298 at Capua; D’Agostino 2003 for cremation burials in vases in Campania generally.
198. Tarquinia RC1042: Helbig 1878, 178; Palmieri 2011, 89–90, 110–14, figs. 16–17.
199. Cf. Paleothodoros 2011, 69.
200. See n. 36 above; Helbig 1896, 184–85. Paris Painter as Etruscan: e.g., Paleothodoros 2011, 53.
201. Hannestad (1989, 126) counts 113 Attic black-figure amphorae found at Tarquinia (using not only Beazley but other sources like Tronchetti 1983), while Paleothodoros (2011, 48, table 4) tabulates 50 Etruscan black-figure amphorae from the site. Per Paleothodoros, Tarquinia was, based on current finds, the third-largest consumer of Etruscan figured pottery after Vulci and Caere.
202. E.g., the red-figure volute krater from Spina cited above, n. 150, and a black-figure stamnos with Dionysian scenes used for a woman’s cremation burial in the eastern necropolis of Marzabotto; both handles were purposely removed in both cases. Stamnos, Marzabotto 335: Baldoni 2009, cat. 4; 2011; 2012, 83–85.
203. Helbig 1886b; Nati 2008, 93–109. After my discussion was drafted, Keely Heuer and Molly Swetnam-Burland presented this krater at the 2016 CAMWS meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia (“Trade, Value, and Ritual: The Life and Times of a Krater by the Niobid Painter from Perugia”). Although I did not hear and have not read their paper, their abstract (published online, <https://camws.org/sites/default/files/meeting2016/AfterlifeinEtruria03.pdf>) suggests that we separately arrived at similar interpretations.
204. Nati 2008, 94.
205. Perugia 1886.1810 (846): *ARV*² 603.34; *BAPD* 206972; Prange 1989, 190, cat. N44; Nati 2008, 102–4, cat. 3.12. Triptolemos: see chapter 3, n. 199, above; in the Niobid Painter’s work: Prange 1989, 78–80.

CHAPTER 7. THE ETRUSCANIZATION OF ATTIC FIGURED POTTERY

1. Bologna 18107 (151): *ABV* 255.5; *ARV*² 4.10, 1617; *BAPD* 200010; Cohen 1978, 55, cat. B2; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E22, p. 124, cat. 10E1a.
2. Discovery: Brizio 1879, 217–19; Gozzadini 1879, 63; Macellari 2002, 176–77, pls. 105–7. Brizzolara and Baldoni (2010b, 4) observe that this tomb forms part of a group situated near the cemetery’s “strada sepolcrale,” all dating ca. 525–500 and all with vases depicting Herakles.
3. E.g., Cohen 1978; 2006, 19–21.
4. Boston 01.8037 (acquired by Edward Perry Warren from the Bourguignon collection): *ABV* 254.2, 691; *ARV*² 4.7, 1617; *BAPD* 200007; Cohen 1978, 55, cat. B1. Exekias amphora: chapter 1, n. 8, above.
5. Herakles/Kerberos and Dionysos: Louvre F204 (ex Durand): *ABV* 254.1; *ARV*² 4.11, 1617; *BAPD* 200011; Cohen 1978, 75, cat. B4; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E23. Herakles/Lion and Achilles/Ajax: London B193 (ex Campanari): *ABV* 254.3, 691; *ARV*² 4.8, 1617; *BAPD* 200008; Cohen 1978, 75, cat. B5; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E20. For the possibility that the Achilles/Ajax scenes show divination, see Bundrick 2017.
6. Munich 2301, from Vulci (ex Canino): *ABV* 255.4; *ARV*² 4.9, 1617; *BAPD* 200009; Cohen 1978, 75, cat. B6; Johnston 2006, 120, cat. 9E21.
7. Johnston 2006, 119–20, cat. 9E13–19a.

8. Paleothodoros 2007a. Other discussions of the invention of red figure: e.g., Robertson 1992, 9–14; Osborne 1998, 135–39; Neer 2002, 32–43, all with further references.

9. Rotroff 2009 also notes the lack of early red figure from securely datable sixth-century deposits in the Agora but comes to a different conclusion about its significance, suggesting a downdating of the introduction of red figure from ca. 525 to ca. 520–515. The precise date for this innovation continues to be debated (see also Neer 2002, 186–205), but the discussion in all its details lies outside the scope of this book.

10. Red-figure amphora from Vulci, Berlin 2159: *ABV* 253.1; *ARV²* 3.1, 1617; *BAPD* 200001; Bonaparte 1829b, 106–7, cat. 1181; Cohen 1978, 131–44, cat. C1; Johnston 2006, 68, cat. 1B11. Chronology: e.g., Cohen 1978, 118–19. White-figure amphora with Amazons (obverse) and bathing women (reverse), Louvre F203 (ex Campana): *ABV* 253.3; *ARV²* 4.13; *BAPD* 200013; Cohen 2006, 196–98, cat. 51; Johnston 2006, 68, cat. 1B12.

11. Osborne 2004b, 42; cf. 2018, 45–47.

12. Importance of consumer choice and rejection, cf. Dietler 2010a, 2010b; Walsh 2013b; Walsh and Antonaccio 2014; Russell 2016, 2017.

13. Contra, e.g., Sian Lewis, who suggests that scenes meant for the export market cannot be reliably accepted as sources of information about Athenian culture and society.

14. Osborne 2004b, 52, supported in Richard Neer's (2005) review of that volume (Marconi 2004a), which describes the Etruscan market as "a reductive construct" and claims "to say that Vulci determined the iconography is to say that nobody else cared about the iconography, or that nobody else could influence the ateliers of the Kerameikos." The arguments of Osborne 2018 also reflect this all-or-nothing mindset.

15. Osborne (2001, 290; 2004b, 52; 2018, 45–47) asserts that the presence of similar subjects on Attic vases found in Etruria and in Athens must mean a lack of Etruscan influence on Athenian production; however, his methodology as seen in Osborne 2001 is incomplete—he counts characters and subjects rather than taking into account the shape, chronology, and attribution of vases. These latter factors are important for seeing the nuances in the different ways workshops responded to consumer demand.

16. For Athenian nuptial vases, see Sabetai 2009a, 2014; for distribution of white-ground lekythoi, Gex 2014; all with earlier references. There are rare exceptions to the tendency for these vases not to be sent to Etruria; an unpublished, black-figure lebes gamikos in the Museo Nazionale Cerite was found in a Caeretan tomb and depicts a group of woolworking women. Cf. Hannestad 1988 for distribution of vase shapes and techniques among the Agora, Akropolis, and Kerameikos cemetery.

17. Oakley 2009a; for the nestoris, see Denoyelle 2008, 210–11, fig. 3.

18. Bundrick 2016a, 14–15, with earlier references.

19. Louvre CA1685: *ARV²* 1099.46; *BAPD* 216113.

20. Funerary use of loutrophoroi: Sabetai 2009a.

21. E.g., Le Corbeiller and Frelinghuysen 2003; Finlay 2010; Leidy and Pinto de Matos 2016, all with numerous references.

22. For the latter, see, e.g., Finlay 2010 and previously Finlay 1998.

23. Cf. the methodological calls to action in Gerritsen and McDowall 2012; Pierson 2012.

24. E.g., McCants 2007, 456–57; Ostkamp 2014.

25. E.g., Pierson 2012 (Britain and Iran); Zhao 2012 (Tanzania); other examples in Finlay 2010.

26. For the former perspective, see, e.g., Finlay 1998, 176–77.

27. Gerritsen 2016, 241.

28. Etruscan traders: see above, chapter 2. Cosmopolitan nature of *emporía* (including sanctuaries there): e.g., Demetriou 2012. Etruscan objects in the Aegean: Naso 2000, 2014 (both with other references). Summary of Etruscan engagement with the larger Mediterranean: Camporeale 2016.

29. Cf. discussion of globalization and glocalization in Hodos 2010; Vlassopoulos 2013, 19–32, 226–77; Russell 2017.

30. Cf. recent discussion in Schmidt 2014, 198.

31. Cf. red-figure hydriai by Phintias discussed in chapter 2 and a red-figure hydria by the Harrow Painter exported to Vulci, discussed in Bundrick 2012 (Tampa 86.70: *ARV*² 276.70; *BAPD* 202666).

32. The question of Etruscan “copying”: e.g., Small 1991–92; Izzet 2007b. For a rare example of an Etruscan cup that can be shown to directly copy an Attic kylix, see Plaoutine 1937; also discussed in Vlassopoulos 2013, 238–39, figs. 30a–b. I use the term “Etruscan” for ceramics possibly made by Greek immigrants resident in Etruria; cf. Warden (2008), who advocates their consideration fully within Etruscan material culture.

33. For recent discussion cf., e.g., Paleothodoros 2010, 2011; Scheffer 2014.

34. Cf. Scheffer 1984, 2014; Paleothodoros 2011, 70–71.

35. Warden 2004; Paleothodoros 2011, 71; Scheffer 2014; Wulschleger 2016.

36. See distribution tables in Paleothodoros 2011.

37. Cf. Paleothodoros 2010, 2011. In contrast, Osborne has suggested that Etruscan workshops favored “scenes with little narrative content and where the viewer does not have to make fine observations. . . . Etruscan vases make ‘easy viewing’” (2004a, 28).

38. For these questions regarding exports/imports in the Bronze Age Mediterranean, cf. Cline 2005; Panagiotopoulos 2012; Russell 2017.

39. Via Caere: cf. Iozzo 2006, 117; Reusser 2013, 45. Attic imports to Chiusi and environs generally: Paribeni 1993; Rastrelli 1998; Iozzo 2006; Reusser 2013. Paribeni (1993, 266) had suggested a special relationship between the Val di Chiana and Attica based on what was then thought to be an absence of other Greek imports, but subsequent discoveries have confirmed the local presence of East Greek and Corinthian pottery.

40. Cf. the “costly signaling” discussed in Walsh 2013a, 84–88, 177–80.

41. Paribeni 1972, 1992; cf. brief discussions in Iozzo 2006; Reusser 2013.

42. Paribeni, Rastrelli, Iozzo, and Reusser (n. 39 above) all employ symposium-related terminology.

43. Chiusi 67371, attributed to the Painter of London B76: *BAPD* 9022267; Iozzo 2009. The same subject appears on a Corinthian column krater from Caere (Calvacade Painter, ca. 590–570, Vatican 16448); the so-called Erskine dinos by Sophilos of unknown provenience but likely to be from Etruria (London 1971.11–1.1: *Paralipomena* 19.16bis; *BAPD* 350099); and the François Vase (see below).

44. See Sinos 1994.

45. Haynes 2000, 96.

46. Iozzo 2006, 2009; Reusser 2013.

47. Marzi 2013. See François 1848 for the excavation of the krater, which, thanks to tomb robbers (?), had not only been broken but whose fragments were scattered throughout multiple rooms.

48. Iozzo 2013, 60.

49. Iozzo 2013, 56–59.

50. Traces of lead: Iozzo 2013, 56, 59. Iozzo states that “it remains uncertain . . . whether the handles were broken and repaired in Greece or in Etruria” (61) but says in n. 37 that “Etruscan repairs are regularly in local bronze, Greek repairs in Attic lead.” Rotroff 2011, 121, discusses the use of lead in Athens versus Etruria.

51. Iozzo (2013, 61) wonders if its arrival in Chiusi was the result of “elite gift exchange.” Reusser states that he does not believe the krater was traded on the secondhand market (2013, 46), but his essay does not address the ancient repairs. Although I accept that this krater may have been traded secondhand based on the physical evidence, I do not follow Webster 1972 in thinking that this way of trading Attic vases was routine.

52. Iozzo 2013, 59, 61, noting that resin may have been used to help seal the cracks. If the krater was successfully made watertight, then the question of whether it was actively used in Etruria and purposely made for Etruscan export rather than sold secondhand remains open.

53. For the assertion that Etruscan viewers could well understand the vase’s narratives, cf. Spivey 2007, 245; Osborne 2007c, 89; Reusser 2013, 47. Attempts to read the iconography from an Etruscan perspective: Isler-Kerényi 1997; Schweizer 2003.

54. Cf. Panagiotopoulos 2012, 56, on the ephemeral nature of otherness; cf. Russell 2017, 65.

55. Panagiotopoulos 2012, 54.

56. Catalogue: Bentz 1998.

57. Attic Stelai: Amyx and Pritchett 1958, 276–77. Inscriptions: Johnston 1979, 223–24; Vos 1981, 35–38; Bentz 1998, 92–95; Langridge-Noti 2001, 79–81; Johnston 2006, 145–46.

58. Differences in distribution and handlers of vases noted in Langridge-Noti 2001 with regard to the Eucharides Painter as a case study. Johnston 2006, 24, observes that mercantile graffiti on prize amphorae “scarcely relate at all to marks on other exported Attic vases” and suggests that they are more analogous to marks on transport amphorae.

59. See Bentz 1998, 111, for summary of distribution, 112 for map.

60. Tarantine tombs: e.g., Schierup 2012, 22–24, with further references.

61. In contrast to a very atticizing early Lucanian pseudo-Panathenaic amphora and the adoption of the Panathenaic shape for red-figure amphorae by Lucanian and Apulian painters: Neils 2001; Schierup 2012.

62. Bentz 1998, 95–97, likewise stressing the strongly Etruscan nature of known assemblages. Only five prize amphorae have documented assemblages—(a) Boston 99.520 (Euphiletos Painter), Tomb LXXIX at Vulci (see below): *ABV* 322.7; *BAPD* 301693; Bentz 1998, 128, cat. 6.058; (b) Vulci, Museo Archeologico 64220 (Mastos Painter), Panathenaic Tomb (Tomba Panatenaica) at Vulci: *Paralipomena* 115.27bis; *BAPD* 340454; Riccioni and Falconi Amorelli 1968; (c) Ferrara 9356 (Berlin Painter), Tomb 11C, Valle Pega necropolis at Spina: *ARV²* 214; *BAPD* 202140; Uggeri Patitucci 1973; Berti and Guzzo 1993, 282–85; (d–e) two examples by the Achilles Painter, both from Tomb 110 of the Arnoaldi necropolis at Bologna, Bologna 18039: *ABV* 409.1; *BAPD* 303099; Oakley 1997, 153, cat. 297; Bentz 1998, 150–51, cat. 5.163; and Bologna 18040: *ABV* 409.2; *BAPD* 303100; Oakley 1997, 154, cat. 299; Bentz 1998, 150, cat. 5.162.

63. Gsell 1891, 184–87. Panathenaic amphora, Boston 99.520 (ex Warren): n. 62 above. Cup, Bryn Mawr P96 (ex Warren, then Hoppin): *ARV²* 147.18, 1610; *BAPD* 201306. See chapter 4 above for Chamber A.

64. Cf. Hannestad 1989, 120–21, table 1, for other Vulcian tombs beyond those discussed in this volume.

65. *Dolichos*—Norwich Castle Museum 26.49, by the Kleophrades Painter, from the Cuccumella *località*: *ABV* 404.16; *BAPD* 303057; Bonaparte 1829b, 126, cat. 1430; Bentz 1998, 139, cat. 5.011. New York, Callimanopoulos collection (ex Castle Ashby), by the Berlin Painter, found in the Cuccumella tumulus: *ABV* 408.1; *BAPD* 303085; Bonaparte 1829b, 162, cat. 1767; Bentz 1998, 145, cat. 5.079.

66. *Stadion*—Munich 1453 (ex Candelori): *ABV* 322.4; *BAPD* 301690; Bentz 1998, 128, cat. 6.061. Amsterdam 1897 (ex Canino): *ABV* 322.8; *BAPD* 301694; Bentz 1998, 128, cat. 6.057. New York 14.130.12 (ex Canino): *ABV* 322.6; *BAPD* 301692; Bonaparte 1829b, 112, cat. 1193; Bentz 1998, 129, cat. 6.064. Stylistic similarities among them and hypothesis that they were produced at the same time: Neils 1992, 48, 198n103.

67. Tomb of the Jugglers: Steingräber 1986, 310–11, cat. 70; cf. the Tomb of the Chariots (Tomba delle Bighe), where a series of male and female seated spectators watch an array of games (Steingräber 1986, 289–91, cat. 47). In the Tomb of the Monkey (chapter 6, n. 161, above), the woman sits on a regular (not folding) stool, holding a parasol, with her feet on a footstool marked with eyes.

68. Vases: n. 62 above. Tomb: Gozzadini 1882, 134–35; Macellari 2002, 226–33 (supporting a female deceased). The inhumation burial contained ceramics and bronzes associated with banqueting, found in both male and female Bolognese tombs, and two bronze situlae, which are locally more associated with women.

69. Recent discussion of desirability and value as applied in archaeology: S. Harris 2017.

70. Boardman 2001, 236; cf. Lissarrague 1987; Reusser 2002.

71. Cf. Izzet 2007a, 213; and see discussion of Etruscan selectivity with regard to Near Eastern imports in Gunter 2016.

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